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Right Reverend Peter James Muldoon, D. D., First Bishop of Rockford, 1863 - 1927

The national sorrow and regret voiced upon the demise of the Bishop of Rockford, Illinois, last October, is but today becoming a solemn reality. Towards the end of last autumn this great soul passed away, and only as the years advance and the absence of his firm, wise guidance is actually felt, will we come to a proper appreciation of his character and the work he has accomplished.

Peter James Muldoon was born of Irish parentage in Columbia, California, October 10, 1863. Here he received his primary education, making his preparatory course at St. Mary's College, Kentucky, and completing his theology at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. He was ordained priest by the first Bishop of Brooklyn, N. Y., the Rt. Rev. John Loughlin, D. D., on December 18, 1886. He served as assistant at St. Pius Church, Chicago, for one year under Father Frank Henneberry and was then made chancellor of the Archdiocese. Later he was appointed to the pastorate of St. Charles Borromeo Church. In 1901 he was consecrated Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago and was appointed Vicar General by Archbishop Feehan. In 1908 he was designated Bishop of the newly created See of Rockford, where he labored for nineteen years. This, in fine, is the factual background of the life history of a gentle character who embraced a life of labor and suffering, who accepted the cross of Calvary that he might kiss the feet of Christ, who devoted the many years of his strenuous life as a successor of Paul, not to reap a harvest, but to sow the seeds of virtue in fertile soil so that his successors might gather into the granary of Heaven the fruit of his labors. The background I have given is one that any uninterested historian might present,

but it is colored by the character of the man, is brilliant as the purple he wore with such distinction, and sets forth in bold relief the causes he espoused.

In the coat of arms of the lamented Bishop of Rockford was the inscription, "Pro fide et patria." He was loyal to his motto, for it expressed his principles. I conceive him as a great Catholic and a great American: great in the sense that his character excited love, admiration and interest. He was not a man who had solely a diocesan view of things and it is difficult, therefore, to consider his life only in the light of the head of a diocese. This man had a larger scope, he had an extra-parochial outlook, for he worked, not for the Church in Rockford alone, but for the Church in America: a characteristic not too frequently found in the chief pastor of a small diocese. He was ever the educated citizen, building schools, establishing social centers, contributing to charitable institutions, urging responsibility of civic duties, attending public meetings, fighting the battles of the oppressed, preaching love and peace and charity. Bishop Muldoon prided himself upon his nationality, he never forgot that he was a born American, that his work and his life belonged to the people of America as can be testified by his labors, not only in the Archdiocese of Chicago and his own See, but in the nation as well. He loved his country as few men love her; he was not a chauvinist by any means, yet he had a definite knowledge and understanding of what these United States meant to the world, of the good they could accomplish were they carefully guided away from materialism and selfishness and elevated to the higher plane of sound religion, charity and justice.

Bishop Muldoon was a man of vision who was capable of seeing things in their concrete adjustments. It was this quality, more than any other, which made him a zealous worker in social reform. The large number of immigrants coming into Rockford made it apparent to him that a social problem lay before him in the care of these souls. Acting without delay he brought foreign-born priests into the diocese, painted the futures of these peoples to them, foretold the vast and fruitful work which awaited them, and began the construction of churches. To keep the people within the fold, to guard them against dangerous doctrines, to make them citizens commanding the respect and confidence of their American compatriots, Bishop Muldoon placed social centers in their districts, Americanization halls within their parishes, and formed societies to bind them together. By these means he turned the people away from erroneous industrial doctrines, he changed their habits, customs and manners so that they would conform to those of America. He had seen the way to do it, and he

undertook the task cheerfully. He was the advocate of any sound and sane constructive program, for the mind of Bishop Muldoon was built along constructive lines which embodied an ideal of helpfulness, of building up the principles of the people to meet those of the Church and the Democracy in America. In his labor in the diocese in establishing the National Catholic Welfare Conference he had almost superhuman foresight in being able to foretell the work and the results which would come of it. Catholic laymen entered the catechetical field teaching and instructing where priests could not go, and many children lost to the Church were returned to the embrace of Peter. Particularly was this true among the foreign population who were somewhat lax in their duties. And as this social work succeeded in the diocese of Rockford so did it meet the needs of many of the dioceses of the United States, for it is impossible to conceive the work of the first Bishop of Rockford as being purely diocesan.

I know of no man who took into consideration, as did this beloved figure, the limitations of human nature. That is why he was known as a sympathetic man. Seldom would he chide his priests or people if they offended him; he bore silently opposition to what he knew would be for the best. To some extent this characteristic may have detracted not a little from his reputation as a disciplinarian. He was too loath to distrust those in his charge; he was patient with an offender almost to a fault. He always preferred to make a man rather than to break him. Few men suffered greater calumny, few men endured more unjust opposition and few men sacrificed more for a principle. It will take the healing influence of time to bring out completely the facts which these sentences are meant to convey. In his grasp he held great honors, yet was always fearful lest he did not deserve them. In defeat he used to say: "Well, we all get so much more than we rightfully deserve." Yet Bishop Muldoon was a confirmed optimist, smiling at all times, and ah, what a smile! His keen sense of humor warmed the hearts of all who knew him.

The Rockford Diocese, since his appointment, has seen remarkable growth in the spiritual life of the Catholic people. In comparing the statistics from the year 1909 to 1927, as given in the Catholic Directory, twenty-five new parishes have been established, seventeen parochial schools with an increase of three thousand seven hundred and fifty pupils, seven high schools, two hospitals and two homes for the aged have been built. There are seventy-eight more priests to administer to the twenty thousand increase in Catholic population. Bishop Muldoon believed in small parishes. He never urged the

erection of large churches, but rather sought to have a little church in every possible settlement so as to better reach his people.

Now these statistics stand as a monument to the work of the man. He was, by nature, an indefatigable worker. He occupied himself, outside his rapidly growing diocese, with numerous duties, many of which could have been considered relatively unimportant for such a gifted man. He thought nothing of traveling from Rockford to San Francisco and back to New York to attend committee meetings or conventions which he felt needed his presence and moral support. Regardless of his health he always found time to get everywhere. He was never too busy to sit through hours of dry and uninteresting speeches and lectures (as though they were a source of great pleasure to him) or to write a letter to one of his people, or again, to stop at colleges or schools for inspection, or to drop in at a church gathering to bid his people success in their work. This, I believe, was the keynote of his great popularity.

Bishop Muldoon, to have been a typical executive, could have employed representatives to do this tiresome work—the drudgery of a diocese—but in his keen sympathy and natural scrupulosity he was always present “in persona.” For hours each day that he was at home he sat at his desk and answered in longhand most of the mail he received; consoling, congratulating, encouraging, advising and commanding. He knew that people treasured his letters; he used to laugh about them and say that he was “too old-fashioned and never got used to the typewriter.” Now all this, and much more, was entirely unnecessary work which could have been accomplished under his direction by someone else. But I now of no greater tribute than to show this eccentricity for it demonstrates his consideration for his confreres, associates and people. It gave him unequalled popularity and the sense of dignity which the Bishop must have; it portrayed the generosity of his nature, the self-effacement, the simplicity and the sincerity of the man.

J. ALLEN NOLAN.

St. Viator College.

BISHOP MULDOON'S WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION SERVICES

In Michael Williams' book, "American Catholics in the War"—the only comprehensive story published to date summarizing the patriotic services rendered by the Catholic body of the United States during and after the World War—appears the following:

"This volume is respectfully and affectionately dedicated by the author to the Right Reverend Peter J. Muldoon, D. D., Bishop of Rockford and Chairman of the Administrative Committee, National Catholic War Council."

Those who are familiar with the splendid record written by the American Catholic body during this great crisis, and especially with the leading part which Bishop Muldoon personally played in inspiring, guiding and conserving to the nation the patriotic efforts of the Catholics of the country, will agree that Mr. Williams' dedication was eminently fitting; not indeed because Bishop Muldoon outstripped his fellow prelates in the American Hierarchy or other humbler citizens of his faith in patriotic zeal and loyalty to the interests of Church and Country during this period, but because his great willingness and capacity for service had the opportunity to manifest itself more prominently and effectively on account of the official position which he held as Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council—the organization formed by the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States to unify and coordinate the war services of the Catholic body and the agency officially recognized by the United States War Department as responsible for the handling of the problems devolving upon members of the Catholic Church in the United States because of the War.

Following the preliminary meetings held in 1917, when the first important steps were taken to organize a Catholic War Council (the first president of which was the Rev. John J. Burke, C. S. P., S. T. D.), Cardinal Gibbons proposed the formation of a new War Council to consist of the then fourteen Archbishops of the United States and an Administrative Committee of four Bishops. Cardinal Gibbons' proposal received the hearty endorsement of the Archbishops and Bishops of the country with the result that the following Administrative Committee was appointed: Rt. Rev. P. J. Muldoon, D. D., Bishop of Rockford, chairman; Rt. Rev. Bishops Joseph Schrembs, D. D., then Bishop of Toledo; Rt. Rev. Patrick J. Hayes, D. D., at that time Auxiliary Bishop of New York; and Rt. Rev. Wm. T. Russell, D. D., Bishop of Charleston.

In writing to Bishop Muldoon and the other members of the Administrative Committee under date of January 12, 1918, Cardinal Gibbons, after thanking the Bishops for having consented to undertake the work of the Catholic War Council and referring to the demands upon their zeal and sacrifice which the work would entail, said in part:

"Permit me to state clearly your position and authority. The Hierarchy has created a Catholic War Council consisting of the Board of Archbishops; but as the Archbishops cannot meet at present to organize the work of the Council and cannot give it the necessary time and labor, they desire to delegate their authority to Your Lordships as a committee to act in their name. . . . Your task will be to direct and control, with the aid of the Ordinaries, all Catholic activities in the War. . . . Our national Catholic societies, both of men and of women, should be enlisted in this work. . . . Call, too, upon any other Catholic forces which you may judge helpful to your work."

The Cardinal then proceeded to point out some particular problems requiring the attention of the Administrative Bishops—the spiritual needs of the soldiers in the camps, on the transports, and in France; the need of a sufficient number of chaplains both at home and abroad; the possible drafting of seminarians; the complicated question of raising funds; and a number of other pressing concerns incident to the prosecution of the War. Concluding his letter to the four Administrative Bishops, Cardinal Gibbons' said:

"I commit to you then, dear Bishops, in the name of the Hierarchy, this very important work, confident that you will accomplish immeasurable good for souls and for the future of the Church."

On January 16, 1918, the Administrative Committee met at the Catholic University of America and agreed upon the scope and activities of the National Catholic War Council, the foundation of whose structure was the fourteen Archbishops of the country, the Administrative Committee of Bishops who derived full authority from the Board of Archbishops, and the Executive Committee composed of the four Bishops of the Administrative Committee and six members each from the Committee on Special War Activities, of which the Rev. John J. Burke, C. S. P., was chairman, and the Knights of Columbus Committee on War Activities, of which Wm. J. Mulligan was chairman.

The details of this magnificent contribution have been ably chronicled by Mr. Williams in the volume already mentioned. Sufficient it is to say here that for the first time in their history the Catholic people of the United States had, in the War Council, a representative *national* organization, one that safeguarded their interests in the multifarious questions arising out of the conduct of

the War; one that enabled their hitherto scattered and disorganized forces to assume a unity and a cohesiveness and, because of these, a resultant efficiency that added immeasurably to their ability to serve the nation and to advance the prestige and glory of the Catholic name.

Through the efforts of Bishop Muldoon's Committee, Catholic representation was secured on all war committees which discussed and molded national welfare and reconstruction policies. Catholic interests and Catholic principles were accorded recognition in all governmental welfare work. A mere tabulation of the accomplishments of the War Council would run beyond the space allotted to this article, but the reader will have some idea of the responsibility that devolved upon Bishop Muldoon's Committee in a consideration of just a few typical matters.

There were, for instance: the question of the appointment of Catholic chaplains in the Army and Navy and the task of securing, through measures enacted by Congress, an equitable quota of such; the organization of Service Clubs and Visitors' Houses; the establishment and conduct of Student Army Training Corps; the training of men and women war workers, field secretaries and welfare representatives to serve at home and overseas; keeping in touch with all Catholic chaplains in the various branches of the service and supplying their many needs; active co-operation with the Government in its widespread Americanization activities for the promotion of a more active and better informed citizenship; the establishment of rehabilitation schools and employment agencies for the aid of the discharged service men; the issuance and circulation, to the extent of millions of copies, of pamphlets dealing with social, civic and other problems of the hour.

Among these pamphlets might be mentioned in passing the "Civics Catechism on the Rights and Duties of American Citizens," which alone has had a circulation of one and one-half million copies, being translated into fourteen foreign languages; and "The Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction," hailed then, as now, as a sound charter of economic justice and brotherhood and the most forward-looking and enlightening document issued by any American group, dealing with the solution of present-day social problems.

All these and thousands of other equally important tasks were capably and effectively handled by Bishop Muldoon's Committee and, it may be added, at a cost totaling only one-thirty-fourth of the money raised in the United War Work Drive held in November, 1918. Perhaps never have funds donated by the general public been so carefully and conscientiously administered as a public trust. The

fact that Bishop Muldoon's Committee, with comparatively meager finances, was able to cover a field so far flung, so varied, and so important, is in itself a striking tribute to the ingenuity, resourcefulness and genius of Bishop Muldoon's direction of this work.

The accomplishments of the War Council were fully reported to the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States at the epoch-making meeting held at the Catholic University of America in September, 1919, and attended by 92 of the then 101 Ordinaries of the country. So impressed were the Bishops upon reviewing the glorious accomplishments of the Catholic people of the country serving under the direction of the War Council that they forthwith decided to convert the patriotism of strife into a patriotism of service, or, as they themselves stated in the national pastoral issued shortly thereafter, "to maintain the spirit of union and co-operation of our forces for the ends of peace." The organization of the National Catholic Welfare Council (later changed to Conference) was the outstanding result of this meeting—another tribute to the record build up by Bishop Muldoon and his co-workers in the work in the emergency organization.

The magnificent manner in which American Catholic resources were applied during and after the War in varied works of religion, welfare and reconstruction evoked the admiration of the entire Catholic world and caused the then reigning Pontiff, Benedict XV, to indite a most remarkable message to the American Hierarchy in which he placed a grave responsibility upon the Catholic Church and her members in the United States.

"The Universal Church," said the saintly Benedict, "now looks to America to be the leader in all things Catholic and set an example to all the other nations."

In giving their reasons later for the perpetuation of the War Council, the Bishops said in the national pastoral referred to:

"We have grouped together, under the National Catholic Welfare Council, the various agencies by which the cause of religion is furthered. Each of these, continuing its own special work in its chosen field, will now derive additional support through general co-operation. . . . The task assigned to each department is so laborious and yet so promising of results that we may surely expect with the Divine assistance and the loyal support of our clergy and people, to promote more effectually the glory of God, the interests of His Church, and the welfare of our Country."

Another appreciation of Bishop Muldoon's worth came in his selection at the 1919 meeting as Vice-President of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and Episcopal Chairman of one of its most important divisions, the Department of Social Action.

It is, of course, impossible to treat here of the work of the Conference during the eight years which intervened between the 1919 meeting and Bishop Muldoon's death in October of 1927; neither is there space to detail the further service of Bishop Muldoon as a member of the Administrative Committee of the Conference and Episcopal Chairman of its Social Action Department, during this time.

The conduct of this national work required personal service to an extraordinary degree. Great crises produce and test great characters. Bishop Muldoon was not found wanting. From his home in Rockford he traveled for monthly meetings to Washington. Oftentimes he would have to cover the distance twice a month. He bore a double burden—the care of his diocese, the problem of the national Catholic organizations—and he shirked not the two-fold burden.

The same outstanding qualities which characterized his work in the old organization—patience, foresight, perseverance, great administrative ability, tolerance, and a great wisdom which all who dealt with him regarded with the deepest deference and respect—were applied in the development of the new. His intense devotion to the ideals of the Conference and his unsparing labors in behalf of his own department undoubtedly hastened his death; but before he died he had the satisfaction of learning through the recent letter of His Holiness, Pope Pius XI, of the Holy Father's appreciation of these eight pioneer years of effort and the Supreme Pontiff's declaration in that letter that "the Conference is not only useful but necessary to the Bishops of the United States."

Bishop Muldoon's own department, the scope of which included the fields of industrial relations, citizenship, social work, and rural welfare, presented many difficulties, but under his wise administration as Episcopal Chairman, it developed into a most helpful clearing house for Catholic social teaching, a bureau of information and standards with regard to the fields mentioned above, and an active organization assisting in promoting civic, social and economic welfare. Growing out of the Social Action Department there developed during Bishop Muldoon's regime a number of important conferences and committees, among which may be mentioned the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems, the Catholic Rural Life Conference, and the Catholic Committee on International Peace, all of which profited as a result of Bishop Muldoon's planning and leadership and all of which reflected his own high standards of social justice and Christian brotherhood.

Only a few days before Bishop Muldoon's death, the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States, meeting in annual session at the Catholic University of America, sent him a message expressing their appreciation of his work as a member of the N. C. W. C. Administrative Committee and their joy over his improved health. In a standing vote of thanks the entire body of Bishops praised Bishop Muldoon and his fellow prelates of the Administrative Committee for their unceasing labors and unparalleled accomplishments.

"If today," said His Eminence, Cardinal Hayes, in proposing this tribute, "we are, as a body, distinguished for a greater solidarity, a more progressive unity for the honor of God and the welfare of our fellowman, and the preservation and further extension of everything best in American life, we owe a debt of everlasting gratitude to these seven members of the American episcopate who, in hours of stress and strain, labored so successfully to make this hour possible.

"Grown out of a wartime patriotic work into a peacetime agency, the Conference has gone through a probationary period from which it has now emerged—a strong instrumentality for good."

Bishop Muldoon's personal part in the accomplishments both of the War Council and of the Welfare Conference pointed out by Cardinal Hayes undoubtedly cost him many years of life. The improvement in his condition reported at that time proved of but short duration and he died a few days later, mourned in his diocese and throughout the nation by legions of friends and admirers, who sensed the passing of a great servant of God and an outstanding benefactor of humanity.

This brief and altogether inadequate sketch of Bishop Muldoon's war and reconstruction services gives but a slight measure of the surpassing patriotism of this great prelate; of his intense loyalty to his Church and to his Country; of his burning zeal for all that would benefit humanity and hasten the reign of social justice throughout the world. Those who labored with Bishop Muldoon knew and loved him for these sterling characteristics. To them, as well as to the thousands who had not the privilege of intimate association with him but who aided in the promotion of his high ideals of social service, Bishop Muldoon's memory points the way like a beacon, pure and far-shining, to his own pathway of service—the service of God, Country and fellowman.

Among the martyrs to Church and Country history has already written in letters of gold the name of Peter J. Muldoon.

CHARLES A. MCMAHON,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Editor, N. C. W. C. Bulletin.

TRAVEL LITERATURE AS SOURCE MATERIAL FOR AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORY

(Continued from January, 1928)

PART III

TRAVEL LITERATURE FROM 1815 TO 1842

After the death of Archbishop John Carroll in 1815, the Church in the United States began that growth in numbers and in activities, which was one of the most phenomenal in the history of Catholicism. We have arbitrarily chosen the year 1842 as the *terminus ad quem* of our essay. During that year Canon Joseph Salzbacher of Vienna visited this country. His volume, *Meine Reise nach Nord-Amerika im Jahre 1842*, is in reality the first extensive account of Catholicism in the United States by a foreigner. This volume is so completely concerned with the Church in this country that it is not possible to include it within the limits of this essay. It will be remembered that during this period (1815-1841) the Catholic Church in the United States was face to face with Protestant opposition, which had the result of strengthening the grouping of Catholics all over the country.

JOHN PALMER

JOURNAL OF TRAVELS THROUGH THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA AND LOWER CANADA (1817)

John Palmer was apparently a native of Lynn, in Norfolk. He sailed from Liverpool on March 28, 1817, on a visit to the United States and Canada. During the voyage he had for companions William Corbett and his two sons. Soon after his return to England, he published his *Journal of Travels Through the United States*. It contains particulars relating to the prices of land and provisions, remarks on the country and people, an account of the commerce of the principal towns and an interesting account of two sea serpents said to have been seen off Marblehead. A Dutch translation appeared about two years after the original. Sydney Smith in the *Edinburgh Review* described the work as one having been written by a plain man, of good sense and sound judgment.

There is nothing exceptional recorded in the pages of Palmer's journal. On four occasions he mentions the Church, but they were only passing remarks. The first concerned the Church in Boston:

There is but one Church of Catholics. (P. 185.)

This refers to the Church of the Holy Cross. About a year after Palmer visited the city and made this observation, the Church of Saint Augustine was started. Of Philadelphia we read:

[There were three Catholic churches in 1790, and four in 1810. The Catholics are numerous in Philadelphia, supposed about 10,000. (P. 276.)

Saint Augustine's Church, Philadelphia, was built in 1797, and is the fourth Church in this record. Of New York City it is said:

There are two Catholic Churches. (P. 306.)

These are old Saint Peter's Church and the new Saint Patrick's which was dedicated a few years before the visit of Palmer. The only other mention of the Church is that there is a Catholic Chapel at Cahokia. (P. 415.)

DAVID B. WARDEN

STATISTICAL, POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE UNITED STATES (1818)

David Baille Warden was a native of Ireland, who came to the United States for the purpose of education. He received his Doctor's degree in Medicine at the New York Medical College. Soon after he was appointed as a secretary to the United States Consul in Holland and later held the same position in Paris, where he died at the age of 67, in 1845. He wrote numerous works all of which were well received by the public. Considering the volume we treat here, Edward Everett in a book review of the time of the first edition claimed that it contained more information about the United States than any other book in print.

Warden relates of Massachusetts:

Anabaptists, Jesuits and Quakers were banished in 1644, as "Incendiaries of the commonwealth, the infectors of persons in matters of religion, and the troublers of churches in all places where they have been." (I, p. 303.)

and that in New Jersey the law read:

All persons professing belief in the Faith of any *Protestant Sect*, and demeaning himself peaceably, shall be capable of being elected into any civil office, and shall freely participate of every privilege and immunity. (II, p. 48.)

The above are but two examples of the early legislation which was enforced against the Catholics.

Of Bardstown the traveler wrote:

There is a Catholic Bishop, but of the Catholic profession there is a small number. (II, p. 337.)

Bishop Flaget, when he arrived in Bardstown in 1811, only eight years before Warden wrote, found it destitute of all signs of Catholicity. Until a Church and house could be erected at Bardstown, the Bishop lived at St. Stephens at Priestland. In the entire diocese there were ten Churches and twenty-four stations visited by a handful of priests.

In Louisiana things were not in such a primitive condition as regards Catholicism. Warden gives some very interesting figures regarding the salaries of missionaries in those parts:

The clergy, before the late cession of Louisiana, consisted of a non-resident Bishop, who had \$4,000 a year, from the revenues of certain Bishoprics in Mexico and Cuba; of two canons with a revenue each of \$600 and twenty-five cures, of which five were for New Orleans and twenty for the different parishes of the provinces, each having from \$360 to \$480 a year. All these disbursements except the pay of the Bishop, and the expenses of the Chapel were paid by the Treasury of New Orleans, and amounted annually to the sum of \$13,000. The convent of the Ursulines, established in 1727, by the Company of the West, for the education of female orphans contained a few years ago, twenty-eight nuns. The establishment is under the direction of thirteen religiouses. The same building contains a public school, established for the instruction of day scholars, at a dollar a year, of whom at the above period the number was eighty. (II, p. 551.)

The following regulations he says are those of Georgetown and were the same as those of the other Catholic Colleges in the country:

The Catholic College of Georgetown, founded in 1790, erected and supported by subscription, under the direction of the incorporated clergy of Maryland. . . . To be admitted as a pensioner, the student must be a Roman Catholic. If a Protestant, he boards in a house convenient to the College, where he enjoys equal advantages with the Catholics, except as to admission to the instruction and exercises of the Roman religion. (III, p. 201.)

The following excerpt is interesting, very probably taken from some conversation:

The Roman Catholic denomination is more numerous in Maryland and Louisiana, than in any other state. The Roman Catholics of Maryland are chiefly Irish, those of Louisiana of French origin. Some years ago, the number in Maryland was 75,000. In Baltimore there is an Archbishop and four Bishops, and three churches; in Boston a church and a Bishop; in New York two Churches and a Bishop; in Philadelphia four churches and a Bishop; in Bardstown, one; in Kentucky, one; in Louisiana, one; with two canons and twenty-five curates, who receive about \$500 a year. (III, p. 484.)

The author was most likely informed that there was an archbishop at Baltimore and four bishops under him. At that time there was no Bishop in Philadelphia, Bishop Conwell not being consecrated until the following year. The mention of Bardstown and Kentucky doubtless are in reference to the same See.

There is a passing mention of the Catholics in New York, and a statement that the Catholic Congregations in Pennsylvania in 1802 numbered eleven.

JACQUES MILBERT

INTINERAIRE PITTORESQUE DU FLEUVE D'HUDSON (1821)

Jacques Milbert, who was a Catholic, visited this country in 1821. He toured the northern part of the State of New York spending most of his time in that section. He made a brief stay in New York City, where he first saw Bishop Cheverus, and later traveled to Boston and met the Bishop personally. There is not a great deal of matter in the book for our purpose, but the few references that are found are valuable.

In his introduction Milbert gives us a very concise picture of Bishop Cheverus. It points out the reverence in which this prelate was held in the minds of all, both Catholics and non-Catholics. Nor are we forced to wonder at this when viewing the zeal, the charity, the poverty and the humility of the Apostle of Boston. The account is as follows:

It was at New York, that I had the occasion to see for the first time, M. de Cheverus. Induced by his reputation of pastoral eloquence, I attended one of his exhortations. His sweet and persuasive voice had such an effect on me, that I had the desire to know him more intimately. Some time after, on going to Boston, I had

the honor of being presented to this gentleman, who welcomed me with the greatest cordiality, and who said to me on showing me the one room that he occupies in a house, "You see the Episcopal palace, it is open to the whole world." Such is the sway of virtue on hearts that in this city, which contains a great number of dissenting sects, all opposed in practice and spirit, the name of the French Bishop is never pronounced but with veneration by all mouths. In fact who could help but be moved, on seeing this venerable minister of the gospel, alone and on foot at all hours of the day and night, in all seasons, carrying miles distant, consolations to the afflicted, secret help to the needy, words of concord and peace to divided families. (XIV-XVI.)

The author then tells of the Bishop visiting him when he was sick. In the body of the book Milbert relates that on two occasions he was present at the consecration of churches in Northern New York. The first was that consecrated by Bishop Connolly at Utica on August 19, 1821:

In an isolated place there is an elegant new Catholic church constructed of wood and in the Gothic style; I assisted at the ceremony of consecration, which was made by the Bishop of New York. (I, p. 154.)

A little later he says of the Church at Carthage, New York:

I must not omit that on a hill, there rises a little church, surmounted by a clock and lantern. It has been constructed at the expense of M. Leray de Chamont, and is destined for the worship of Irish Catholics, who with a certain number of English and Americans, form almost the entire population of the town. M. Connolly, Bishop of New York, made the consecration during my stay at Leray-Ville. It is to serve the two-fold purpose of Church and public school, for in the United States, each community, of whatever little importance it might be, is obliged to have a school, and to support at its own expense a master, etc. (II, p. 29.)

Nothing else to our purpose is recorded except a word about the Church at Boston:

The Catholics possess a church in Boston, and a chapel in the cemetery of that city. The venerable ecclesiastics who serve the Catholic Church of Boston, go often to preach the gospel to the savages of the Penobscot, a place situated at the eastern extremity of the State of Maine. (II, p. 20.)

The chapel of the Penobscots was located at Point Pleasant and attended by Father Romagne, who made his winter quarters at the church at Newcastle. Bishop Cheverus visited this Indian mission the year after his consecration and confirmed 122 souls. The Bishop was received with enthusiasm by the Indians, for he

had been their missionary. Bishop Plessis visited the mission at the request of Bishop Cheverus in 1815, and he himself spent two months of the following year among them. In 1825 Bishop Fenwick wrote that there were about 400 souls at the mission and they were at that time without a pastor.

WILLIAM H. BLANE

AN EXCURSION IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA (1822-1823)

After traveling through almost all of Great Britain and Ireland as well as the most of the Continent, especially Holland, France, Switzerland and Italy, Blane determined to visit the United States. He was desirous of seeing the New World and of being personally acquainted with the conditions here, the descriptions which he read being apparently filled with contradictions. He set sail from England in the summer of 1822, and having arrived in this country visited most of the large cities of the coast and went as far west as St. Louis. One chapter of his book is devoted to a summary of a religious conditions of the country, but there is very little in it for any religious kind. After a fair description of the Baltimore Cathedral, Blane adds:

This Cathedral was built by a lottery, which is no doubt a moral and convenient method of raising money, but which might induce a heretic to suppose that the builders were at the same time serving God and Mammon. (P. 35.)

There were two lotteries held for the erection of the Cathedral. The first was held in 1804, and referred to by Charles W. Janson in his journal of America. There was a second held in 1819 and doubtless is the one to which Blane here makes reference.

Like the other travelers of this period, Blane could not refrain from telling all that he had heard about the Hogan case, being, as are all of these accounts, a non-Catholic view of the whole affair:

The Roman Catholics are not very numerous in the United States, and the following anecdote may tend to prove that some persons among them are disposed to be wiser than in the good old times.

Mr. Hogan, the officiating priest in the Catholic Cathedral in Philadelphia, gave great offense to the zealous, by leaving out the more absurd of the ritual. The Bishops, finding that he was obstinate in his error, fulminated against him the sentence of excommunication. This sentence, which cursed every individual member in Mr. Hogan's body, was printed in most of the journals of the day, in one of which I read it. Mr. Hogan, however, laid the whole case before his congregation, who desired him to set at naught the aforesaid sentence. Being supported by the majority of the subscribers who built the Cathedral, Mr. Hogan continued to officiate. The Catholic Bishop then applied to the Pope, who also excommunicated Mr. Hogan; and some fanatics, several of whom were Irishmen, animated by this sacred diploma, seized upon the Cathedral and prevented Mr. Hogan from officiating. Upon this, the whole affair was laid before the judicial court of the State of Pennsylvania, which, in conformity with the law of the United States, decided that the people who built the Cathedral had a right, not only to appoint their own officiating priest, but even if they please to change their place of worship, one day into a mosque, and the next day into a barn, or, in other words, to do what they liked with it. All this made a great noise at the time, and just before I left the United States, I was informed that the grand jury of Philadelphia had presented the Pope as a nuisance for having stirred up contention among the inhabitants of their city, and for having interfered in the spiritual concerns of the United States. The reader may imagine the ridicule which this occasioned. (P. 489.)

G. C. BELTRAMI

A PILGRIMAGE IN EUROPE AND AMERICA (1823)

Beltrami, a French traveler, came to the United States in 1823, evidently for the purpose of exploring the Northwest Territory. He fell in with the expedition of Major Long at Fort St. Peter and continued with him for a time. In his account, Beltrami claims that he was harshly treated by Long and for that reason separated from his company. He then continued his independent explorations and claims for himself the discovery of what he named Lake Julia, the "most northern sources of the Mississippi, sources until now unknown." There is little known about the life of the author, except what is here recorded, taken from his own book.

Beltrami does not seem to have missed an instance that would reflect unfavorably upon the Church. His first instance is that of the Hogan case and the Church of Philadelphia:

The Catholic Church of St. Mary has recently been the scene of a great scandal. The congregation actually came to blows about a

priest who was the choice of the people, but rejected by the Bishop and his partisans. This is the way in which our holy religion is everywhere honored and recommended by the conduct of its professors. (II, p. 44.)

Likewise in St. Louis he became aware that all was not as it should be, and he writes:

The Catholics are the most numerous in St. Louis, but their priests here as elsewhere, bring shame and contempt on Catholicism. They arrogate a spiritual jurisdiction over balls, polite amusements, etc., and pry into family secrets; then they sow discord among some and disgust others with their interference, and thus scatter schism and scandal in all directions. Instead of gaining proselytes, they make apostates. It seems that even here they are resolved to justify the often repeated accusation, that Bishops and Jesuits are the fittest instruments for the oppression and degradation of mankind. It is hoped that a more enlightened clergy will arise and see the danger of defiling religion. (II, p. 125.)

That such was true is too well known. It was the greatest obstacle that met Bishop Du Bourg after his consecration. Scandals and infidel opposition had caused the region along the Mississippi to be most barren and almost void of religion. The European priests who had come to the aid of Bishop Du Bourg began at once to revive the faith in those parts. Some few of them faltered before the obstacles and difficulties and the almost impossible task that was theirs.

The Jesuits were, it seems, the avowed enemies of Beltrami. Speaking of the Indians at La Plata, he states that they have been trained by the Jesuits to follow their (Jesuits) wills in everything. He then laments the fact that this society is trying to re-establish their dominion over the world. (II, p. 165.) When he deems it well to praise the work of the French missionaries in general, the Jesuits are excluded, and Bishop Du Bourg, as we will quote below, is accused of Ultra-Jesuitism. The traveler was not unaware of the fact that the Indians were not to be judged as to religious profession by the religious articles they carried. The same fact was noticed at an earlier date and mentioned by Charlevoix and Chateaubriand. The latter may have derived this knowledge from Beltrami, as was the case in other statements that he makes. In this matter Beltrami says:

Religious external signs might lead one to the conclusion that these savages (those at Fort St. Peter) are Catholics or at least Christians, for almost all of them, particularly the women, wear crosses. (II, p. 212.)

He explains that to draw the conclusion that these Indians were Christians would be incorrect. The Red men came in possession of the crosses when the missionaries distributed them. After the *Black Robes* had departed the crosses reminded the Indians of their former hopes and the piety of the missionaries, and became their favorite ornaments.

At Red River, below St. Louis, he made the following observation:

Two Catholic priests have also established themselves here, but as neither the Government nor the Company gave them any means of subsistence, they went away, and the church, constructed of the trunks of trees, is already fallen into ruins.

Their departure is more to be regretted as not only does it deprive these regions of every source of instruction, which could be derived from these ecclesiastics alone, but the Bois Brules will relapse into their former state of barbarism by losing whatever good they have gained from their evangelical precepts.

Then follows a section mentioned before as having been misquoted by Chateaubriand:

To do justice to truth, the French missionaries, when not Jesuits, have invariably distinguished themselves everywhere by an exemplary life, befitting their profession. The religious sincerity, their apostolic charity, their remoteness from austerity and fanaticism fix in these countries memorable epochs in the annals of Christianity. (II, p. 354.)

Florissant, Missouri, was only at this time starting to take shape as a religious center. Our author noted this development:

M. Du Bourg, the Bishop of St. Louis, has already formed an establishment of nuns, well calculated to promote the education of the daughters of persons residing here, and also another of the Jesuits, by whose means he proposes to spread the Catholic religion among the Indians dispersed over the border countries. May they answer the evangelical and philanthropic views of this prelate, if he sincerely entertain such! But the Ultra Jesuitism which he has hitherto promulgated authorizes the belief that he is merely the zealous tool of the Junta of Montrouge. Several well informed persons have assured me that the principle of these gentry is in perfect accordance with the vulgar maxim, "To stick by one another." (II, p. 494.)

The nuns mentioned here are the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, who had come from France and opened a school at St. Charles in 1818. It was only after some years that the school was moved to Florissant. The Jesuits were those who had been at Whitemarsh when the noviciate was broken up in 1823. Father Van Quickenborne and his novices accepted the invitation of Bishop Du Bourg and settled on a farm near Florissant.

A typical case of Indian devotion for their missionary is related of the natives at Sioux Portage, where they heard that he was at hand, and they flocked about him and:

asked for their common father, M. Acquaroni, an Italian priest who was resident among them for three of four years. He is vicar of the Cathedral at New Orleans, coadjutor of abbe Moni, both of whom are models of virtue. (II, p. 497.)

Father Acquaroni was a Lazarist, who attended the mission here as well as at St. Charles and Dardennes. Father John A. Moni was the rector of the Cathedral in New Orleans at the time of his death in 1842.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

NOTIONS OF AMERICANS; PICKED UP BY A TRAVELING BACHELOR (1824-1828)

Cooper hardly needs an introduction. He was not a traveler in America, but a native, having been born in Burlington, New Jersey. His *Spy* and *Last of the Mohicans*, are two of his works that are widely read even in our own day. The volume that we here consider, *Notions of Americans*, purport to be notes taken by an Englishman and published by Cooper. Who the author was we do not know. The book does not contain a great amount that is to our purpose. There are but two references, the first being to Philadelphia during the visit of LaFayette.

Among the thousands that gathered around that venerable Frenchman, were all the clergy of the city. They were more than sixty in number, and at the head appeared the Protestant Episcopal Bishop, with the Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church at his side. The former, who is a native of the country, and one of the oldest divines, delivered the sentiments of his brethren; but had the latter, who is a foreigner, been of greater age and longer service, he would have been, undoubtedly, selected to have performed the same ceremony. . . although in theory, all denominations in the United States are equal before the law, there is, in point of fact, no country in the world that is more decidedly Protestant than this, and yet I do believe it

would give scandal to the whole nation, to learn that a slight or offense of any nature were given to a priest, merely because he happened to belong to the Roman Catholic communion. (II, p. 136.)

It was in October, 1824, that LaFayette visited Philadelphia. Bishop Conwell and Bishop White, of the Protestant Church, were the two who are here mentioned as being at the head of the Procession. The second remark concerning Catholics is a general one:

The Roman Catholics are the most numerous in Maryland and Louisiana. The first was a Roman Catholic colony and the latter, as you know, has been both French and Spanish. The Floridas must also contain some Catholics. Many of the Irish who came to this country, and are settled in the more northern states, are also Catholics; but including all I should not think that they rank higher, in point of numbers, than the sixth or seventh sect, after allowing for all the subdivisions among the Protestants themselves. (II, p. 232.)

The numbers of Catholics at this time was not generally known. There was, too, a feeling on the part of many that the Church was not to succeed in this country.

CARL BERNHARD, DUKE OF SAX WEIMAR

TRAVELS THROUGH NORTH AMERICA

(1825-1826)

Bernhard, the Duke of Sax Weimar, was a military officer in the service of the King of Netherland. From his earliest years, he had desired to visit the new world, more from curiosity than from any other motive. The journal of his travels was kept in order that on his return to Europe he might satisfy the inquiries of parents and friends. His notes were read by a number of the friends and they desired that the book be published. After some persuasion Bernhard yielded to this entreaty. He started his journey from Ghent in April, 1825, after he had been given an eighteen months leave of absence by the King, and a government boat was at his disposal to cross the Atlantic. He arrived home in July, 1826.

Very early in his tour, Bernhard visited Baltimore, where he met Archbishop Marechal, of whom he writes:

I was introduced in the Church to the Archbishop of Baltimore, M. Marechal, who is the Catholic Primate of the United States. He is a native of France, and has resided in the United States since 1792, whither he first came as a missionary. He is spoken of as a man of great activity and much spirit. His exterior is of great simplicity; he is of small stature and animated. When he first addressed me,

with his book under his arm, I took him for a French teacher, but he very soon presented himself to me as the Archbishop.

The State of Maryland contains the greatest number of Catholics, with the exception of the States of Louisiana and Florida, where the Catholics, on account of the wealth they possess, have some influence. (I, p. 163.)

Marechal was ordained priest in 1792 and had come to America before saying his first Mass. Bernhard then relates:

I was twice in the Catholic Cathedral, the first time on Sunday, October 30th. The desire of hearing good music decided me on going to this church, and I had no occasions to regret it. . . . The Charity sermon, by Mr. Wheeler, on Charity and pleasure of doing good, was very edifying. The text had been chosen to move the hearts of the congregation, on behalf of the Catholic Poor school. Several days after I returned to the Cathedral in company with Mr. Vallenilla, of the Columbian legation, to see Dr. Fenwick consecrated Bishop of Boston. The Church was crowded. . . . I do not remember to have heard such good music for a long time. . . . The ceremony lasted very long. I remained from ten o'clock until two and then left the church. The service continued until three P. M. The Archbishop himself officiated in pontificalibus, with a mitre of gold cloth, and his gilded croisier-staff. He was served by the Bishops of Charleston and Philadelphia, who wore mitres of cloth of silver. The first, Mr. England, delivered a long sermon, with a strong Irish accent, of which I did not understand much, except that he drew a comparison between a republican state citizen and a good Catholic. He spoke with much vehemence, and was very declamatory. It is said that this prelate is one of the pillars of the Romanish Church in the United States. (I, p. 168.)

Father Wheeler, who is mentioned here, became the chaplain to the Sisters at the Visitation Convent at Georgetown the following year. He was theologian for Father Matthews at the first Baltimore Council. In 1832, he fell a victim to cholera, while helping those already afflicted with the disease. Bishop Fenwick was consecrated on All Saints' day, 1825. The Bishop of Philadelphia at this time was Bishop Conwell.

The next Catholic center that attracted Bernhard was New Orleans. He describes the Cathedral and then says:

On Sundays and holydays, this church is visited by the beau monde; except on these occasions, I found that the most of the worshippers consisted only of blacks and colored people, the chief part of them females. (II, p. 56.)

A short sketch of Bishop Du Bourg follows and we here find the first traveler who mentioned that the Episcopal Palace was a "quon-

dam nunnery." The Ursulines had removed to the outskirts of the city and the Bishop had taken their house as his palace.

I paid a visit to the Bishop of Louisiana, Mr. Dubourg, and was very politely received. He is a Jesuit, a native of St. Domingo, and appears to be about sixty years old. He delivers himself very well, and conversed with me concerning the disturbances in the diocese of Ghent, in the time of Prince Broglio, in which he as counsellor and friend of that Prince, took an active part. In his chamber, I saw a very fine portrait of Pius VII, a copy of one painted by Camuccini, and given by the Pope to the deceased duke of Saxe-Gotha. The Bishop inhabited a quondam nunnery, the greater part of which he had assigned for and established a school for boys. The Bishop returned my visit on the next day. (II, p. 64.)

He also relates that the Bishop told him how he had acquired a set of French Encyclopedao in Flanders, when a good Catholic peasant was about to burn them, because they contained articles against the Church. (II, p. 83.) He then proceeds to St. Charles, concerning which place he wrote:

The place may contain 1,000 inhabitants who nearly all belong to the Catholic faith, and have a small wooden church. I spoke to the present pastor, Verheggen, a native of Ghent, a young man, who, with Abbe Maehout, in Pensacola, and many other young students from Flanders, accompanied Bishop Dubourg on his return from Europe. Abbe Verheggen told me that eight Flanders clergymen were appointed as pastors through the State, or placed in the Seminary five miles from St. Genevieve. (II, p. 99.)

It seems probable that the author is here referring to Father Verhaegen, who was among the Jesuits at Whitemarsh, and answered Bishop Du Bourg's invitation to go into his new diocese. If this is so, the priest did not accompany the Bishop from Europe. It is certain that Father Verhaegen was still in the West, and was made President of the new College at St. Louis a few years later.

Father C. Maehaut, who was then pastor in Pensacola, was appointed rector of the Cathedral in New Orleans in 1842.

On board the steamer at Cincinnati Bernhard made the acquaintance of a priest, of whom he writes:

Among the passengers was Abbe Martial, a Frenchman, who had kept a boarding school in New Orleans for a long time, and was at that time employed by the Bishop of Kentucky to Bardstown, on whose account he was to travel in France and Italy. (II, p. 134.)

Father Martial was a very dear friend of Bishop Du Bourg. The college which he directed was on the site of the new Ursuline Convent. This good priest was another of the cholera victims. As

regards his errand in Europe, we can find no evidence. Shea mentions that Father Nerinckx and Chabrat were in Europe to collect funds in 1821, but there is no mention of Father Martial, nor of his having ever been under the jurisdiction of Bishop Flaget. Cincinnati itself offered much for the traveler to see. His description of the incidentals is valuable:

I called on Bishop Fenwick, but he was not at home. I have met with a clergyman who was a native of Hildeshiem, his name was Rese, who was educated in the Propaganda in Rome. This man showed me the old and new Cathedral. The former was built of wood, resembling a German village church; in its interior the splendid episcopal seat is particularly distinguished. The altar has but few ornaments, with the exception of four silver chandeliers, which the Queen of Eturia gave to Bishop Fenwick for his church, and a gilded tabernacle, the gift of Pope Pius the seventh. . . . The church has not any bells; with respect to these the clergy expected some contribution from Italy. The Vicar General of the Bishop was Abbe Hill. He had formerly been a captain in the British army, and, having become a Catholic while in Italy, entered the Dominican order. He was said to be a great preacher. (II, p. 137.)

Even when he had departed from the country, Bernhard continued to record American Catholic History. It is about a certain Father Richards, a fellow passenger on the return trip across the Atlantic:

With regard to Abbe Richards I heard it stated that he had been originally a Protestant minister in Virginia, and had removed to Montreal, to endeavor to make proselytes in the seminary of that place, but in his controversies, he became so won to the Catholic Faith, that he was not only converted, but likewise took the orders of the Catholic Priesthood. (II, p. 205.)

The only priest we can find record of as being in the States at that time under this name, is Father Richards of the New Orleans Diocese, who was later Vicar General. There is a passing mention of a church in Philadelphia, and Fredrickstown.

JAMES STUART

THREE YEARS IN NORTH AMERICA
(1828-1831)

James Stuart was born in Dunearn in 1775. He attended the public schools of Edinburgh, and, after graduation from the University of Edinburgh, was admitted to the Society of the Writers to

the Signet. He was a keen politician of the Whig side and suffered a number of personal attacks because of his political affiliations. These led him into much trouble and in March, 1822, he killed Sir Alexander Boswell in a duel. He fled to Paris and there gave himself up to the Ambassador. Returned to England for trial he was acquitted. A few years later he sailed for America, and in 1833 published his *Three Years in North America*. He showed therein a strong bias in favor of the Americans and, following hard upon Mrs. Trollope along the Mississippi and Ohio, he lost no opportunity of contradicting the ill humored contention that appeared in her book of travels. After his return to England he became the editor of the *Courier*. He died at Notting Hill, London, in November, 1849. He was married but left no family.

Stuart is the only traveler who left in his account a mention of the demonstrations with which the people of the United States greeted the news of the Catholic Emancipation Bill. He writes of this in two different places:

While I was at Philadelphia the news arrived there of the Royal assent being given to the Catholic Emancipation Bill. Great rejoicings took place. The mayor ordered the bells, especially the great old bell which first proclaimed the independence of the United States in 1776, to be tolled, and to ring during the whole day. Public rejoicings on this occasion took place in all the towns of the United States, especially at New York and Baltimore. Contributions had been sent to the subscriptions in Ireland for the forwarding of Catholic Emancipation from the United States, especially from Maryland, a considerable part of the population of which consists of Roman Catholics. (I, p. 378.)

I was at Philadelphia when the news of the emancipation of the Catholics in Ireland arrived and I do not believe that greater public joy was shown in London, on account of that long delayed triumph of Justice and liberality, than in Philadelphia. (II, p. 574.)

We judge that this rejoicing was spread over the United States, and while there is no record available to tell to what extent American money was an aid to the cause, it was probably considerable, for Catholics of Maryland were fairly wealthy. It is a pleasing thought, too, to know that the same Liberty Bell which rang out the freedom of the United States was later to sound the freedom of the Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland.

Stuart goes on to speak of the Catholics:

The gentleman at present at the head of that body is Charles Carroll. It was at his expense chiefly that the Roman Catholic

Cathedral at Baltimore was built. The present number of Roman Catholics is calculated at 500,000; some persons make it higher by 200,000 or 300,000. (I, p. 378.)

Stuart most likely means that Charles Carroll was then the outstanding Catholic layman. He was at this time the only surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence. Carroll can hardly be said to have seen to the erection of the Baltimore Cathedral, chiefly at his expense. There were two lotteries held to raise money for the erection of the Cathedral, one in 1804, which John Carroll won and turned over to the Cathedral, and the other in 1819. The money raised by these two lotteries, together with the private subscriptions of the people of Baltimore and the sale of pews, made up the greater amount of the cost of the building. Charles Carroll had built the Church of St. Mary at Annapolis out of his own funds. Concerning the appearance of the Cathedral, he says:

It is very large and handsome . . . the interior is well fitted, and there are a few good pictures; the organ is very fine. (I, p. 392.)

The only other mention of the Church is concerned with the West. In Louisville he noted:

Father Abel, an eloquent preacher, in soliciting subscriptions for a Catholic paper charged the Catholics of the United States with supineness and lukewarmness in not encouraging such publications. There were, he said, 700,000 in the United States and only four periodical publications, ill supported, published at Boston, Baltimore, Charleston and some other city, the name of which did not reach my ear. (II, p. 327.)

Father Robert A. Abel, who is here mentioned, was most likely in his own church of St. Louis when Stuart heard him speak. This church was built by Father Abel and consecrated by Bishop Flaget about the time that Stuart was in that vicinity. This priest was a close friend of the Bishop and accompanied him on many of his trips as well as making a number of tours for him. The Bishop was with Father Abel when news arrived from Rome that the Holy See had accepted the former's resignation. The newspaper, the place of publication of which Stuart had failed to catch, was probably the one for which subscriptions were being taken, namely, the *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati, founded by Bishop Fenwick that same year. It is noted, too, that Father Abel was not aware of the *Truth Teller*, published in New York since 1825; or of the *Catholic Press*, which appeared in Hartford in 1829.

LORENZO DE ZAVOLA

VIAGE A LOS ESTADOS-UNIDOS DEL NORTE DE AMERICA
(1829)

Lorenzo de Zavola is a little known character. We have found nothing of his life in any encyclopedia and his own book gives no hint as to whom he might have been. He entered the United States at New Orleans after having toured Mexico, which accounts for his frequent comparison of our Churches with those of Mexico. He is evidently a Catholic for he shows familiarity with all things Catholic. He traveled up the Mississippi and Ohio, then to Niagara and down to New York and New England, with a short trip to Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington. The book was published in Paris in 1834.

The first mention of things Catholic is at New Orleans:

As in all Catholic countries, Sunday is a day of diversions in New Orleans. The shops of the Catholics are open; there are dances, music and feasts. . . . The cathedral is a small church, following no regular line of architecture, and which is nothing when compared with the churches of Mexico. The altars are like those of our towns except that the images are much larger . . . in the Catholic Church the Negro and the white, the slave and the master, the noble and the poor are gathered before the same altar. Here there is a temporary forgetting of all human distinctions. . . . In this sacred place there disappears the stamp of degradation from the forehead of the slave and he is admitted with the rich and free and offers up his chants and prayers with them to the God of nature. In the Protestant Church it is not so. The colored people are excluded or separated into one place by a lattice work or ballustrade. The most miserable slave receives from the hand of the Catholic priest all the consolations of religion. . . . Father Antonio de Sedella, a Capuchin, is the mouthpiece of the negroes, and is respected by all classes of the population. He is a Spanish priest, being esteemed for his friendliness, his tolerance and other virtues. (Page 25.)

At Cincinnati the author wrote:

There are eight Churches here, one of them a Roman Catholic Cathedral. (Page 70.)

Baltimore is the next place that drew a comment from the author concerning the Catholic faith. The Cathedral at Baltimore, he says:

Is one of the finest churches in the United States. It can not be compared with the cathedrals of Mexico and Puebla, and much less with the ancient edifices of Europe. Notwithstanding, the interior

of the church is very pleasing because of its cleanliness, its paintings and its statues. Another Catholic edifice that draws the attention of the traveler in Baltimore, is the chapel of the College of St. Mary's. (P. 199.)

There follows a description of the chapel of the College and, like most others, is very favorable. At Washington the traveler did not fail to notice Georgetown College, but was not aware that the institution was under the Jesuits, or that there was a regular tuition for the students there. He writes:

A mile from Washington is Georgetown, in which place there is a convent of humble nuns and brothers of the Visitation, having as their principal occupation the free education of the youths confided to their care. (P. 259.)

The only other mention in regard to the Church is, that in New York all Churches are governed by trustees.

GODFREY T. VINGE

SIX MONTHS IN AMERICA (1831-1832)

Godfrey T. Vinge was an English barrister, who, after visiting the various countries of Europe, came to the United States. He came, as he says in his preface, "alone, un-bewifed and un-bevehicled, as a man ought to travel, and with the determination of being, as far as an Englishman can be, unprejudiced." His intention was to see in the space of six months all that he could of the United States, and, after reading his succinct and straightforward account, one does not wonder that he covered as much ground as he did in six months. His two volumes make excellent and interesting reading. The Catholic Church seems to have received mention wherever there was anything that would attract the attention of a traveler, who was making such a rapid tour of the country.

The first Catholic reference in Vinge is concerning Baltimore. He states that when the city is approached by water, one of the most conspicuous sites is the Roman Catholic Cathedral.

The Archbishop of Maryland is the Metropolitan of the States. The Roman Catholic Cathedral is a handsome building, with a dome like the Pantheon. The inside, which is divided into pews, contains two very good pictures of the French school: a descent from the cross, by Paul Guerin, presented by Louis XVI; and St. Louis burying his dead soldiers before Tunis, by Steabon, presented by

Charles X. . . . St. Mary's College and Baltimore College are justly celebrated throughout the country. (I, p. 122.)

The last mentioned painting by Steabon hangs in one of the class rooms of Caldwell Hall at the Catholic University of America.

It was shortly before the death of Charles Carroll, in 1832, that Vinge wrote of him:

Mr. Carroll is the most extraordinary individual in America. This venerable old gentleman is in his 90th year, is exceedingly cheerful, enjoys perfect health, and is in good possession of his faculties. He is the only survivor of the patriots who signed the Declaration of Independence on July 4th, 1776. He has always adhered to the Federal principles and his valuable estate is one of the few that have descended in direct line from the first possessor. Mr. Carroll is the grandfather of Ladies Wellesley and Caermarthen. (I, p. 134.)

Of Georgetown College and the Visitation Convent the author writes:

The College at Georgetown is a Catholic establishment, its members are Jesuits, and who are increasing their influence, by purchasing lands, etc. Attached to the College is a nunnery of the Sisters of the Visitation, containing about fifty nuns. They tell there of a Hohenlohe Miracle. (I, p. 146.)

The miracle that is referred to here was one performed after union in prayer with Prince Alexander Hohenlohe of Bamberg. The subject of this particular miracle was Sister Beatrix Myers, and was followed by a second in the person of Sister Apollonia Digges. Mrs. Trollope mentions in her book that she saw on the streets of Washington, Mrs. Mattingly, who was the first American to obtain relief from sickness by the intercession of and union of prayer with the Priest-Prince.

Turning then to the West, our traveler does not relate any more Catholic information until he arrived at Mackinac. He visited this town on two occasions. On the first he simply remarked:

Mackinac is the rendezvous of the Northwest American Missionary establishment. It contains six missionaries, of whom four were Presbyterians, one a Catholic and one of the Church of England, and a large establishment for the instruction of one hundred children of whatever persuasion. (II, p. 112.)

A few days later he entered the following account:

Our evening's entertainment was rather of a novel description. A Catholic priest, whom we had previously left at Mackinac, and who was known to be an eloquent man, was going to preach in the chapel, and accordingly many of us went to hear him. He had come to the Island for the sole purpose of holding a religious controversy with some of the Presbyterian clergy. The expected meeting did not take place, and, having been or fancying himself to have been very much wronged, he entered into a long explanation of the whole affair. He read letters and papers, and commented on them in his robes from the altar; he made a long tirade, in which sarcasm and ridicule were successfully prominent, and wound up his speech more suited to the bar than the pulpit, by accusing his adversary of telling a thumper. Whether he was in the right or the wrong is little to the purpose; in common, I believe, with everyone that heard him, I thought the whole proceeding was exceedingly disgraceful. (II, p. 120.)

As the Catholic priests appeared in Ohio and Michigan to care for the Catholic faithful, ministers of the sects started to assail the doctrines of the Church and the morals of her priests and people. Many places witnessed priests who rose in defense of the Church. It is evident that the priest spoken of by Vinge at Mackinac was Father Mazzuchelli. Although there was little or no effect on Vinge, it does not follow that it had no effect and was looked upon as disgraceful by all who heard him. It is recorded that at one of these talks, there were three converts to the Church. It was because of this constant attack on the Church that Bishop Fenwick founded the *Catholic Telegraph*.

CHARLES ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA (1831-1832)

Charles Alexis de Tocqueville was born in Verneuil, in France, on July 29th, 1805. He was the grandson of Malesherbes, the defender of Louis XIV. As a judge at Versailles in 1830, he formed a friendship with Gustave de Beaumont, with whom he traveled to America in 1831. Two publications resulted from this trip. The first was a collective work of the two on the penitentiary system of the United States. A few years later De Tocqueville published his celebrated book, *La Democratie en Amerique*. This work won for him admission to the Academie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, in 1838, and to the French Academy in 1841. A copy of *La Democratie* with annotations by Bishop Bruté, the first incumbent of the See of Vincennes, is preserved in the Library of St. Sulpice. De Tocqueville held that

democracy could exist only by seeking a moral support in religion, and that religion could prosper only by accommodating itself to democracy. In regarding the exactions of Catholicism as too severe the author leaves the impression that at the time of his visit he was but half Catholic. The book has long been known as one of the fairest analysis of American institutions. That he clearly foresaw what strides the Church was to make in America is shown by the following quotations which need no comment:

About fifty years ago Ireland began to pour a Catholic population into the United States; on the other hand the Catholics in America made proselytes, and at the present moment more than a million Christians professing the truths of the Church are to be met with in the union. The Catholics are faithful to the observances of their religion; they are fervent and zealous in the support and belief of their doctrines. Nevertheless they constitute the most republican and the most democratic class in America; and although the fact may surprise the observer at first sight, the causes by which it is occasioned may easily be discovered upon reflection.

In think that the Catholic religion has erroneously been looked upon as the natural enemy of Democracy. Amongst the various sects of Christians, Catholicism seems to me, on the contrary, to be one of those which are most favorable to the equality of conditions. In the Catholic Church, the religious community is composed of only two elements, the priest and the people. The priest alone rises above the rank of his flock, and all below him are equal.

On doctrinal points the Catholic Church places all human capacities on a level; it subjects the wise and the ignorant, the man of genius and the vulgar crowd, to the details of the same creed; it imposes the same observances on the rich and the needy, it inflicts the same austerities upon the strong and the weak, it listens to no compromise with mortal man, but reducing all the human race to the same standard, it confounds all the distinctions of society at the foot of the same altar even as they are confounded in the sight of God. If Catholicism predisposes the faithful to obedience, it certainly does not prepare them for inequality; but the contrary may be said of Protestantism, which generally tends to make men independent, more than to render them equal.

Catholicism is like an absolute monarchy; if the sovereign be removed, all the other classes of society are more equal than they are in republics. It has not unfrequently occurred that the Catholic priest has left the service of the altar to mix with the governing powers of society, and to take his place among the civil gradations of men. This religious influence has sometimes been used to secure the interests of that political state of things to which he belonged. At other times Catholics have taken the side of aristocracy from a spirit of religion.

But no sooner is the priesthood entirely separated from the government, as is the case in the United States, than it is found that no class of men are more naturally disposed than the Catholics to transfuse the doctrine of equality of conditions into the political world. If, then, the Catholic citizens of the United States are not forcibly led by the nature of their tenets to adopt democratic and republican principles, at least they are not necessarily opposed to them; and their social position, as well as their limited number, obliges them to adopt these principles and opinions. Most of the Catholics are poor and they have no chance to take a part in the government unless it be open to all citizens. They constitute a minority, and all rights must be respected to insure to them the free exercise of their own privileges. These two causes induce them, unconsciously, to adopt political doctrines which they would perhaps support with less zeal if they were rich and preponderant.

The Catholic clergy of the United States has never attempted to oppose this political tendency, but seeks rather to justify its results. The priests of America have divided the intellectual world into two parts; in the one they place the doctrines of revealed religion, which command their assent; in the other they leave those truths which they believe to have been freely left open to the researches of political inquiry. Thus the Catholics of the United States are at the same time the most faithful believers and the most zealous citizens.

It may be asserted that in the United States no religious doctrine displays the slightest hostility to democratic and republican institutions. The clergy of all the different sects hold the same language, their opinions are consonant to the laws, and the human intellect flows onward in one sole current. (I, p. 304.)

In America religion is a distinct sphere, in which the priest is sovereign, but out of which he takes care never to go. Within its limits he is master of the mind; beyond them he leaves men to themselves, and surrenders to the independence and instability which belongs to their nature and age. I have seen no country in which Christianity is clothed with fewer forms, figures and observances than in the United States; or where it presents more distinct, more simple, or more general notions to the mind. Although the Christians of America are divided into a multitude of sects, they all look upon their religion in the same light. The same applies to the Roman Catholic as well as to the other forms of belief. There are no Roman priests who show less taste for the minute individual observances for extraordinary or peculiar means of salvation, or who cling more to the spirit and less to the letter of the law, than the Roman Catholic priests of the United States. Nowhere is that doctrine of the Church, which prohibits the worship reserved to God alone from being offered to the saints, more clearly inculcated and more generally followed. Yet the Roman Catholics are very submissive and very sincere. (II, p. 28.)

America is the most democratic country in the world and it is at the same time (according to reports worthy of belief) the country in which the Roman Catholic religion makes the most progress. At first

sight this is surprising. Two things must be accurately distinguished: equality inclines men to wish to form their own opinions; but, on the other hand, it imbues them with the taste and idea of unity, simplicity and impartiality in the power which governs society. Men living in democratic ages are therefore very prone to shake off all religious authority; but if they consent to subject themselves to any authority of this kind, they choose at least that it should be single and uniform. Religious powers not radiating from a common center are naturally repugnant to their minds; and they almost as readily conceive that there should be no religion as that there should be several. At the present time, more than at any preceding one, the Roman Catholics are seen to lapse into infidelity, and Protestants to be converted to Roman Catholicism. If the Roman Catholic be considered within the pale of the Church, it would seem to be losing ground; without the pale to be gaining it. Nor is this circumstance difficult of explanation. The men of our days are naturally disposed to believe; but, as soon as they have any religion, they immediately find in themselves a latent propensity which urges them unconsciously towards Catholicism. Many of the practices and doctrines of the Catholic Church astonish them; but they feel a secret admiration for its discipline and its unity attracts them. If Catholicism could at length withdraw itself from the political animosities to which it has given rise, I have hardly any doubt but that the same spirit of the age, which appears to be so opposed to it, would become so favorable as to admit of its great and sudden advancement. One of the most ordinary weaknesses of the human intellect is to seek to reconcile contrary principles, and to purchase peace at the expense of logic. Thus there have never been, and never will be men, who, after having submitted some portion of their religious belief to the principle of authority, will seek to exempt several other parts of their faith from its influence, and to keep their minds floating at random between liberty and obedience. But I am inclined to believe that the number of these believers will be less in democratic than in other ages; and that our posterity will tend more and more to a single division into two parts—some relinquishing Christianity entirely and others returning to the bosom of Rome. (II, p. 30.)

FRANCES M. TROLLOPE

DOMESTIC MANNERS OF THE AMERICANS

(1832)

Frances Trollope is remembered as the author of the most prejudiced and most warmly discussed of all British books of American travel, and the mother of two novelists, Anthony and Thomas Trollope. Born in 1780 as Frances Milton, she married Thomas Anthony Trollope, a graduate of Oxford. After a number of unfortunate speculations had thrown them into poverty, Mrs. Trollope came to the United States with her two daughters and a son, in 1827. She

was a friend of Fanny Wright, the well known lecturer, and thought that through her she would be able to secure a position for at least the boy. She opened a bazaar at Cincinnati, but this venture proved a total failure. In 1831, Mrs. Trollope returned to England in a frame of mind very unfriendly to the Americans. She had made a few friends in Cincinnati, but on the whole was disappointed. She immediately published her *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, which was eagerly read in England. Soon after this the family fled from England to escape its creditors, and Mrs. Trollope thereafter supported the family by literary work in Belgium. She published other books of travel and many novels, writing steadily until her death in 1863. Her *Domestic Manners* was read by thousands in this country and there was a bitter feeling aroused towards the author and the English people in general. All of her references to the Catholic Church are creditable to the Church.

The first remark about the Church is a tribute to its unity:

The Catholics alone seem exempt from the fury of division and subdivision that have seized upon every other persuasion. Having the Pope for their common head, regulates, I presume, their movements, and prevents the outrageous display of individual whims which every other sect is permitted. (P. 99.)

This is closely followed by words in praise of Bishop Edward Fenwick of Cincinnati, who was a native of Maryland. She says of the prelate:

I had the pleasure of being introduced to the Catholic Bishop of Cincinnati and have never known in any country a priest of a character and bearing more truly apostolic. He was an American, but I should never have known it from his pronunciation and manner. He received his education partly in England, and partly in France. His manners were highly polished, his piety active and sincere, and infinitely more mild and tolerant than that of the factious secretarians, who form the great majority of the American priesthood. (P. 100.)

In Baltimore Mrs. Trollope attended services in the Cathedral. She very minutely describes the interior and exterior of that edifice, which she later claims to be the only church in the United States with any pretense to splendor. She also states that:

The prelate is a Cardinal and bears, moreover, the title of Archbishop of Baltimore. (P. 167.)

James Whitfield was then Bishop of Baltimore, but we know not under what consideration he bore the title of Cardinal. The Chapel of St. Mary's attracted her attention, and a very careful study of the same is entered into her book. In Washington there was a simple remark:

The churches here are not superb, but the Episcopal and Catholic church are attended by elegantly dressed persons. (P. 186.)

Here also a trip was made to Georgetown, where she enters into detail about the Convent of the Visitation:

At Georgetown there is a nunnery where many ladies are educated, and at a little distance from it a College of Jesuits for the education of young men, whereas their advertisements state, "the humanities are taught." We attended Mass at the nunnery, where female voices that performed the chant were very pleasing. The shadowy form of the veiled abbess in her little sacred parlor, seen through a grating and a black curtain, but rendered clearly visible by the light of a gothic window behind her, drew a good deal of our attention. . . . The convent has a considerable enclosure attached to it where I frequently saw, from the heights above it, dark figures in awful black veils, walking solemnly up and down.

The American lady who was the subject of one of Prince Hohenlohe's miracles, was pointed out to us in Washington. All the world declares that her recovery was marvelous. (P. 187.)

The woman who is here referred to as being the subject of a miracle was Mrs. Ann Mattingly, a sister of the mayor of Washington. Shea has a very complete account of the miracle in his *History of the Catholic Church* (Vol. III, p. 85.)

Of the New York churches she says:

They are plain but very neat, and kept in perfect repair within and without, but I saw none with the least pretension to splendor; the Catholic Cathedral in Baltimore is the only one in America which has. (P. 273.)

STEPHEN DAVIS

NOTES OF A TOUR IN AMERICA (1832-1833)

Stephen Davis was a Protestant minister from the north of Ireland, who was in the United States for the purpose of making a study of the condition of the Protestant Church in this country and to take up collections for the Church in Ireland. What he

records in the way of the informaiton concerning Catholics, was in warning to the Protestants of this country that the Catholic Church was spreading and should be watched.

The first facts that we gather from reading his report is a correction of the almanac figures regarding the Catholic population and a tribute to the zeal of the Catholics:

Roman Catholics are reported in the almanac to be 500,000 but should be 800,000. All denominations are at work, but none more so than the Roman Catholics in very part of the country, and in the valley of of the Mississippi most particularly. Their zeal, indeed in America, and in every part of the British Dominions is worthy of a better cause, and if it were properly considered it would put Protestants everywhere to the blush and would stimulate their exertions to show them their errors. (P. 23.)

A very interesting account of Catholic activities was copied from the Connecticut *Observer*:

It is pleasing to know that some are not unobservant of the progress of Popery there. A writer in the Connecticut *Observer* has the following remarks upon it: "The population attached to the Roman Church in the Valley of the Mississippi is about 500,000, and they boast of an increase of about 40,000 in that region last year. Between 20 and 30 Jesuits recently arrived from Europe, to go to the Mississippi Valley. Twelve more are on their way to enter Michigan. Five Jesuits lately arrived in New York from Antwerp, with the same design. But recently, five nuns from the Convent at Georgetown, took their departure for Mobile, with the intention of establishing in that vicinity schools for female children and youth. There is in the Western States a band or brotherhood of young Catholic priests, who bind themselves by a vow, 'to spend three years in teaching youth,' before they shall attempt to enter the ministry, and the members of it are constantly on the alert in the Western States. Many of their chapels are known to be built in the Mississippi Valley by money sent from Rome. In Pennsylvania, since July, four individuals have been promoted to the priesthood: in Massachusetts, one or two. During the past year, Catholic Church have been completed, or nearly so, in Burlington, Vt.; St. Louis, Miss.; Washington County, Ky.; Clearfield and Newry, Penna., and in the City of New York.

On the 30th of September 100 persons were confirmed in Elizabethtown, Penna.; 25 in Clearfield; 52 in Huntington, and 16 in Newry, Penna. On the 29th of August, 26 in Hartford, Conn., 22 of whom were converts from Protestantism; 40 in Wilmington, Del.; 27 in Burlington, Vt., and 43 in St. Louis. A few years ago a few poor Catholic Canadians constituted the entire Catholic population of Burlington, Vermont; now it is said to exceed 10,000 in

number. In a section of Missouri, where six years ago there was but eight Catholics, there are now 550. In the College De Propaganda Fide, at Rome, there are several youth of the American Indian tribes being educated to return as missionaries among their kindred; and the best scholar in that institution is a native (white) of Kentucky, who will probably return as a missionary to his native State. He possesses fine talents. These are but a few of the facts well authenticated." (P. 24.)

The minister found an opportunity to arouse the flame of zeal in the hearts of the young men who were preparing for the Protestant ministry. It was his chief aim to have them care for the "poor Irish," who were mostly led by the errors of Rome. Speaking of his stay at the Hamilton Institute in New York, he states:

I addressed them upon the circumstances of Ireland, and the most likely means, through the Divine blessing, to obtain the favorable attention of Roman Catholics, whose interests many of them are anxious to promote, when their studies are completed, in the Valley of the Mississippi. (P. 75.)

Without details, he remarks that there is a Roman Catholic College and nunnery at Georgetown (P. 95); and goes on with very minute details about the inscriptions on the walls of the Cathedral at Baltimore. (P. 109.) Finally he quotes verbatim from the *Eclectic Review*, a long extract about Popery (P. 141), and there is no doubt that the visitor was impressed and probably upset by the strength which the Church displayed at the time of his visit.

E. S. ABDY

JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE AND TOUR IN THE UNITED STATES (1833-1834)

Edward S. Abdy was born in 1791, at Albyns, Essex. He was educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship. His rather verbose work was read extensively at the time of its appearance, though its interest was quite temporary. He despaired of Slavery because those with whom he spoke on this subject would not admit that it was an evil. He claimed that the bragging of Americans was a necessary part of our Democracy. Previous to his visit to America, he was known for an essay, *The Water Cure*, of which he was not however the author, but only the translator from the German. He mentions of the Church a few rather lengthy accounts:

All the remarks of Abdy in regard to the Church are concerned with the spread of the faith and the prejudice that was then in evidence against the Church. He mentions that at Norwick, Virginia, where the stage stopped for a while, he entered into conversation with a man who had recently "adjured Calvin for the Pope," whose conversion was brought about entirely by what he considered a misrepresentation of the primitive Church. This convert, with the aid of a priest, had succeeded in cooling the heat of hostility against the Church and:

Though there were only two Catholic families among them, they contrived to raise \$555 for a church. From one store alone they got \$60; one man having given \$25 and another \$10. They all declared that they had been completely deceived and now were convinced that, the thunders of the Vatican had ceased, and that they would be neither boiled alive, nor condemned, when dead to eternal perdition.

That the number of Roman Catholics is increasing in the United States can not be disputed, whether the cause is to be found in conversions or from emigration from Europe. The papal Church has probably gained by the rancorous abuse and animosity with which its doctrines, real or imputed, are assailed by almost all other sects, who agree in nothing but in the hatred of a common foe. (III, p. 93.)

It is about the same trend of affairs that he mentions in New England:

As we came out of Boston, we passed the ruins of a Catholic Convent, which had not long before been destroyed by a mob, excited by a spirit of religious intolerance against an innocent community of helpless women and children. They had been told that a young person was forcibly confined there, and, having been prepared for any kind of violence by some inflammatory sermons that had just been preached from an orthodox pulpit, these advocates for summary conviction and speedy punishment, assembled in full force and fury at the doors of the hated building and set fire to it. . . . (III, p. 258.)

An account of this outrage follows. Mention is made of the animosity towards Catholics in the different parts of the country, with excerpts from a report of the secretary of the Hartford Education Society in 1833, and from a talk of Doctor Scudder. Another quotation from a book printed in Boston at that time can almost be supposed to be the real cause which led to the Charlestown fire:

It is a subject that demands the most serious consideration of the judicial department of our nation, whether they should allow Roman Catholic priests to establish nunneries where the "Black Veil" is taken. Such in fact are prisons in which females are kept locked up forever. It is true that they enter them voluntarily at first, but the question is, do they voluntarily remain there? . . . the bare mention of a wish to leave might, in many instances, be followed with a deadly poisonous draught. (III, p. 259.)

Abdy concludes this subject by saying that the Catholics are not far behind their opponents in this manner of acting:

If we may judge from certain resolutions they lately passed at New Orleans, against a Presbyterian minister, for slandering them in an address he had delivered in Connecticut . . . had it not been for the Catholic Bishop, the Irish at Boston and the neighborhood would have retaliated on the Protestant churches and the College at Cambridge, for the insult thus offered to their religion. It is said they had provided arms for themselves. The dislike which prevails almost universally against the Irish does not originate entirely in religious differences. One of the most fruitful sources of the jealousy is from the working classes, who claim that these intruders take the bread out of their mouths, by overstocking the labor market. (III, p. 260.)

CHARLES A. MURRAY

TRAVELS IN NORTH AMERICA (1834-1836)

The Honorable Charles Augustus Murray was for a time Master of the Household to Queen Victoria. By birth he was a grandson of Lord Murray, Bishop of St. David's. His traveling in America included a year's residence among the Pawnee Indians of Missouri, about whom he is mostly concerned in his volumes. The references to the Catholic Church are few and of no great consequence, his chief remarks being, like those of others of this period, confined to the spread of the faith and the zeal of the Catholic priests.

At the time of Murray's visit to the West, the Cathedral at St. Louis was building and there was a great deal of talk about it. Murray states that all who knew he was to stop at St. Louis advised him to inspect the Cathedral, which was one of the attractions in that part of the country. The advice was taken and he visited the rising church on two occasions, but did not arrive at the same conclusions as the others. He claimed that he could see nothing there

to call for all the praise that had been given to it. In the second volume there is but one reference to the Church. It is a general remark:

The Episcopalians and the Roman Catholics (exclusive of the colored population) are about equal in number, but the latter are increasing more rapidly, especially in the Western States. Certainly there are two qualities beyond any other, that distinguish the Roman Catholic religion, and those are, first, the plastic readiness with which it adapts itself to the circumstances, habits and political opinions of mankind, so that although it has been for centuries in Europe, the most powerful engine in the hands of despotism, its tendency seems in the United States to gather beneath its banner the most democratic republicans. The second quality referred to above, is no less remarkable, namely, the zeal and enterprise with which it inspires its priests to toil, travel and endure every kind of hardship in spreading its doctrine and gaining converts. In this labor, especially among the negroes and the Indians, they put to shame the zeal and exertions of all other Christian sects, nor do they labor without effect. During my stay in Missouri I observed that the Romanish faith gained ground with a rapidity that outstripped all competition. (II, p. 308.)

HARRIET MARTINEAU

RETROSPECT OF WESTERN TRAVEL; SOCIETY IN AMERICA (1834-1836)

Harriet Martineau, one of the most versatile and energetic of all women publicists, was born in 1802 in Norwich, England, the daughter of a cloth manufacturer. After a sickly childhood, she was thrown midway in her twenties upon her own resources. She was unable to enter the teaching profession, owing to her marked deafness. She at once entered upon the career of authorship that lasted until her death in 1876. Though frail of body and frequently ill, she never seemed tired. After a day of work with the needle, by which means she first made sure of her living, she would write until two or three in the morning. Her first stories were religious in character and received a wide circulation. Her first real success came after reading Adam Smith and other economists, and executed the idea of writing a series of tales to illustrate the principles of political economy to the masses. The demand for these tales ran into the thousands. This work being completed, she visited America, where she was already well known as an author, and was everywhere welcomed. On her return to England she published two works of three volumes each, *Society in America* and *Retrospect of*

Western Travel. The former is very heavy, being a systematic scrutiny of the American application of the principles laid down in the Constitution and Declaration of Independence. The second records in an interesting fashion, her impressions and descriptions and incidents of her travel in America. As source material for Catholic Church history they contain little. In her *Society in America*, we read:

The hatred to Catholics also approaches too nearly in its irreligious character to the oppression of the negro. It is pleaded by some who must mourn the persecution the Catholics are undergoing at present in the United States, that there is a very prevalent ignorance on the subject of the Catholic religion, and that dreadful slanders are being circulated by a few wicked, who deceive a great many weak persons. This is just the case; but there is that in the true Christian religion which should intercept the hatred, whatever may be the ignorance . . . the question, "Where is thy faith?" might reasonably be put to the Presbyterian clergyman who preached three long denunciations against the Catholics in Boston, the Sunday before the burning of the Charlestown Convent; and also to parents, who put into their children's hands, as religious books, the foul libels against the Catholics which are circulated throughout the country. . . . I was seriously told by several persons in the South and West, that the Catholics in America are employed by the Pope, in league with the Emperor of Austria and the Irish, to exploit the Union. The vast and rapid spread of the Catholic faith in the United States has excited observation and grew with this rumor . . . it is found so impossible to supply the demand for priests, that the term of education has been shortened two years. The Catholic Church is democratic in its policies and is modified by the spirit of the time in America; and its professors are not a set of men who can be priest ridden to any fatal extent. (II, p. 234.)

There follows a plea for the toleration of Catholics on the ground that if the faith is false it will decay, or at least remain harmless; and because what is more to the point, the principles of this country require that a man be left free as regards his religious belief and practices. This plea for tolerance is not common in the books of travelers. Miss Martineau's spirit of fair play, which runs through all her works, is found here in favor of the Catholics, although she herself was of the Protestant persuasion.

In her volumes, *Retrospect of Western Travel*, the first mention is brief and not of value:

My first introduction was to the Catholic Bishop. (II, p. 50.)

The Bishop here mentioned is Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati. The only other mention of things Catholic is a return to what was touched upon in her first work. She says that the city of Cincinnati is threatened by the spirit at work among the people. In part, it reads:

A third direction in which this illiberality shows itself is toward the Catholics. The Catholic religion spreads rapidly in many and most of the recently settled parts of the United States, and its increase produces an almost insane dread among some Protestants, who fail to see that no evils that the Catholic religion can produce in the present state of society can be so effective and dangerous as the bigotry by which it is proposed to put it down. The removal to Cincinnati of Doctor Beecher, an ostentatious and virulent foe of the Catholics, has much quickened the spirit of alarm in that region. . . . It is hoped that all parties will remember that Doctor Beecher preached, in Boston, three vituperative sermons against the Catholics the Sunday before the burning of the Charlestown Convent by a Boston mob. Circumstances have also shown them by this time, how any kind of faith grows under persecution, and above all, it may be hoped that the richer classes of citizens will become more aware than they have yet proved themselves to be of their republican (to say nothing of their human) obligation to refrain from encroaching, in the smallest particulars, on their brethren's rights of opinion and liberty of conscience. (II, p. 55.)

FRANCIS J. GRUND

THE AMERICANS IN THEIR MORAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS (1837)

Francis J. Grund was a native of Germany and for years a resident of the United States. Beyond this there is little known of his life. His book was warmly received in America, and the reviews of the time of its publication are favorable to it. He is also the author or at least the editor of another work, *Aristocracy in America*. Grund claimed that he did not write the book, and that it was the work of a German nobleman, but the general opinion is that Grund was not only the editor, but the author of this work.

The first reference of Grund is misleading. Speaking of the Roman Catholic Seminaries in this country he says:

There are five Roman Catholic seminaries, at Baltimore, Emmitsburg, Bardstown, Charlestown and Perry County. (I, p. 243.)

These are only the first five seminaries that were founded. They were, St. Mary's at Baltimore, which was founded in 1791; Mt. St.

Mary's at Emmitsburg, founded in 1808; St. Thomas Seminary, founded at Bardstown by Bishop Flaget in 1811 and discontinued in 1869; that at Charlestown opened by Bishop England in 1882; and that at Missouri opened by Bishop Du Bourg in 1818. In the year that Grund wrote there were four other seminaries in this country. In 1829 there was one established in Boston and another in Cincinnati, and in 1832 the Philadelphia and the New York seminaries were opened. The year previous to this account of Grund, the New York seminary had been moved from Nyack to the Thousand Islands location, where it remained for a short time.

Another mention of the faith is in a chart in which the different religions are recorded. The Catholics are listed as having:

340 clergymen, 383 churches and no record of the number of communicants.

A. F. DE BACOURT

SOUVENIRS D'UN DIPLOMATE: LETTERS INTIMES SUR
L'AMERIQUE
(1837-1842)

Bacourt was born in France in 1801 and received an excellent elementary training and then entered the diplomatic service about the age of twenty-one. He held a number of important posts before resigning under M. de Lamartine, while at Turin. He then published the letters of Mirabeau. He was a personal friend and secretary of Talleyrand and was with this personage during his last moments. He wrote his *Memoirs of Talleyrand*, which he forbid to be published before 1888. He returned to the diplomatic service of France and was sent to the United States as minister from 1837 to 1842. During the time he was in this country he traveled a great deal, and with his foresight predicted a number of events, including the struggle between the North and South. The book, as is indicated in the title, is a series of his letters to France during his residence in this country.

The most detailed as well as the first Catholic data that we find in these letters, is that which was written from Baltimore during his first days in America. An interesting picture of Archbishop Eccleston can be derived from these pages. There is also much contained in the conversation between these two Catholics:

I have just returned from a visit to the Archbishop, who received me very well. He is a handsome man, of forty years of age

at most, who has the best manners I have yet seen in America. An old sulpician, he passed ten years ago, two years at Issy, near Paris; he speaks French very well, and inquired with much interest about the life of M. de Tallyrand, which until now he appears to have credited. But he was delighted with what I told him of it, and begged me to repeat it to the director of the seminary, whom I am to visit this evening, and who it seems attaches a great importance to this affair. We also spoke of Msgr. Forbin-Janson, who has been in the United States for the last eight months. I profited by this occasion to beg the Archbishop to prevail upon Mr. de Janson to speak more moderately about France and its present government, for I have heard that in New York and New Orleans, he had expressed himself in the pulpit in the most violent manner against us, accusing us of being Atheists. The Archbishop took what I said in good part, and replied, "M. de Janson is a man of intelligence, but too ardent; he is wrong in introducing politics into his sermons. I always avoid it, even in this country, where priests have a right to say what they please. Although born in America and as good a republican as anyone, I do not vote, and never try to influence my parishioners as to how they shall vote. It would only be in the case of the liberty of my religion being threatened that I should assert my right as an American citizen. I have already requested M. de Janson to be more moderate, but it is not to be wondered at that he should sometimes wander from his subject, for he preaches too much. Just imagine, he has preached two hundred times in four months. He is very wrong in attacking the King of France. This sovereign has shown himself favorable to religion, and since he commenced his reign has made none but an excellent choice of Bishops, etc."

The Archbishop spoke also of the progress of Catholicism in America, and even in the State of Massachusetts, where thirty years ago there were not ten Catholic families, now there are forty Catholic Churches and a Bishop at Boston, the most Puritanical city in the United States. There are numerous conversions everywhere, and almost all Irish and German emigrants are Catholic. This progress has been apparent in New England also where the Protestants are so ardently zealous. There are in the United States fourteen Bishops, and they talk of creating two new Sees; the Catholic population will soon reach a million. The increased number of Bishops and the building of churches are facts more remarkable, because the revenues of the clergy and the Church are covered by subscriptions and the rent of seats in the church.

The Archbishop took me into his Cathedral, the interior of which is in as bad taste as the exterior, but he is very proud of this monument, which has cost the Catholics a great deal of money. (P. 47.)

Mention of Msgr. Forbin de Janson, the Bishop of Nancy and Toul, will be made again in the letters of the diplomat, telling

of the labors of that prelate, who was virtually an exile from France.

The following day found the French minister at the Seminary and College of St. Mary, concerning which place he wrote rather lengthy accounts:

Before leaving Baltimore I went with the Count Menou to visit the Seminary of St. Sulpice, which is composed of ten priests and five of these are French, and thirteen pupils. The college, which adjoins it, is under the direction of the same priests and has three hundred pupils, one half of whom are Protestants. The Abbe Chauch, who is the head of the College, was born at Baltimore. He is a distinguished man in his conversation and manners. The Seminary was founded in 1791, by five French Sulpicians, who came to the United States to escape the persecution; they have had to contend with a thousand difficulties, which they have overcome with great courage, and later were able to found the College which is more prosperous than the Seminary, for which they could only get recruits from the foreigners. Americans had little taste for a life of meditation, their feverish activity ill fits them for a uniform and peaceful life.

The principal of the Seminary is the Abbe Delnot. Born in Vivarais, he came here twenty-five years ago. Although he is less distinguished than the Abbe Chauch, I think he is, notwithstanding his common appearance, an able man. He was very much interested in the Christian death of M. de Tallyrand. He has already been informed of what I had said to Msgr. Eccleston on the subject in the morning; it delighted him. He spoke with much feeling of the St. Sulpice in Paris, of the Abbe Garnier, and of M. Emmery, etc. These good priests showed me every detail of their seminary, the college and their little Gothic Chapel, which is far better than the Cathedral. They related to me a very singular fact concerning the establishment of Catholic Bishoprics in the United States. The promoter of the first seat was Jefferson, who was said to be an unbeliever in any religion. Observing the tendency of the American Catholics to follow the English Catholic Church, even after their separation, he thought this might produce trouble, and whilst minister at Paris, having induced the American government to adopt his views, he was authorized to obtain the creating of a Bishopric at Baltimore, which thus became the head of the Church in the United States and will soon have fifteen assistant Bishops.

M. de Menou says that the Bishop was much pleased with my visit. He took it for granted that I had acted in my official capacity and from instructions given by the King. I begged M. de Menou to assure him, that I had acted entirely from personal feeling. (P. 54.)

The reference to Jefferson and the erection of the See of Baltimore is one that is made even today. It was not our Paris minister

that brought this about. The fact is that the Papal nuncio at Paris was ordered by the Holy See to consult Jefferson regarding John Carroll, in order that he would have a better idea of the sentiments of Americans in this regard. Jefferson then wrote to this country saying that he had been consulted, though he never claimed for himself that he had been instrumental in the erection of the first American See. That this mistaken notion of affairs has come down to us is not surprising, when we read here that the Sulpicians at St. Mary's, those who trained the priests of America, firmly believed this to be true.

From Washington a number of letters were written. They have to do with the business of the Government chiefly, and a few remarks on the social life of the Capital, but here and there we catch a mention of the pastor and the Church. The first letter was written a few days after he arrived in the city.

The little Catholic Church of which I am a parishioner is neat and well kept. The Mass that I attended, although a low Mass, lasted more than an hour on account of a short sermon preached and of a great number of communicants, the half of whom at least were negroes and negresses. The French legation has a pew, for which it pays yearly. Eight days after my arrival, the Cure sent to M. Pageot the rent due, and a message by the beadle to say that the pew would be of no use to me as I was a Protestant; they read that in the newspaper.

The Church mentioned here is St. Patrick's. Mention is made of it in another letter:

I paid a visit to my curé yesterday. He is an American by birth, but brought up in Liege. He returned to America during the French Revolution. He came to Washington, which was being built, and thinking that it would become a city of importance, bought a large tract of land. During the last thirty-five years, by the aid of subscriptions from Catholics, he has built on this land a pretty church, a presbytery, a small hospital where the Sisters of Charity take care of the sick, and a school where fifty poor children are educated gratuitously. The Abbe Matteus seems to me to be an honest man, distinguished only for his charity, perhaps the highest of all distinctions. He told me that there are now in Washington three churches and more than six thousand Catholics; that is about one-third of the whole population. (P. 81.)

Father Matteus is no other than the Very Rev. William Matthews, who had been Vicar General Apostolic of the Diocese of Philadelphia during the Hogan trouble. Another remark that is

worth quoting here marks a feeling that was in the hearts of many at that time:

M. Matthews, the Catholic Cure, tells me that President Tyler's sister, who is a Catholic, lives here in Washington. The President has so much respect for the Catholics, that it is reported he will join their religion. I do not believe it. (P. 380.)

Of the Western States there is but one mention:

Mr. Benton says that in all the new States of the West there is a large number of Protestants who have been converted to the Catholic Church on account of the doubts caused by the infinite number of Protestant sects. Young Protestants are educated in Catholic schools, their parents confiding them with a feeling of perfect security to the integrity and enlightenment of the Catholic clergy of America. (P. 73.)

The following was written from Boston, while there with a party of Royal French visitors:

There are fifty-two churches in the city and suburbs, of which four are Catholic. Nearby is a convent of Benedictines, which was broken into, pillaged and burnt by the Bostonians three years ago, from pure curiosity to see what was going on there. In consequence of this the Bishop of Boston sent the nuns to their principal house in Canada. Afterwards he claimed damage from the City of Boston and the Legislature of Massachusetts. On their refusal he declared that he would leave the ruins just as they were. As the ground belongs to the Catholic Church, he had a right to do as he pleased, and this determination annoys the Protestants very much, because all the strangers view the ruins and, with astonishment, ask the cause. (P. 152.)

The convent mentioned here is that of the Ursulines which was burned in 1834. It is here mistaken for a Benedictine institution because it was situated on Mt. St. Benedict, in Boston. Neither the city nor the State ever paid the claims that were filed after this disaster.

The following was written after a service in the Cathedral at Baltimore, on September 30, 1840:

The high Mass, with the music of Madame d'Houterire and company lasted nearly four hours, thanks to a Jesuit who delivered a sermon for an hour and a half in honor of St. Ignatius Loyola. (P. 178.)

After a short history of the Acadians, Bacourt tells an interesting account of those who were left on the banks of the St. Jean:

Here is a curious fact attached to the lamentable history. Some of these people escaped on the shores of the river St. Jean, and no more was heard of them until fifty years after. . . . in 1803 some English and American engineers went to the river St. Jean to seek traces of the boundaries . . . imagine the astonishment to find a population of 1,000 or 1,200 Frenchmen, whose existence was unknown to the world. They retained their customs and religion, and during half a century, the Catholic clergy had sent them priests, and had kept the secret of their retreat so well, that no one in England or the United States knew or suspected their existence. (P. 186.)

Of Bishop de Forbin-Janson, of whom we made mention before, Bacourt wrote in 1841:

I have just heard that Msgr. de Forbin-Janson, the former Bishop of Nancy, and wandering preacher in the United States, is about to build a French church and French hospital. I sent this turbulent Bishop my modest personal offering of 500 francs, and will write to Paris asking the aid of the Government. Subscriptions from the King and Queen would make a good impression here, and I shall recommend it. (P. 270.)

The church was actually erected at this time. The cornerstone was laid on October 11, 1841, and the Church called by the name of St. Vincent de Paul. It was dedicated in the summer of 1842. The total cost of the edifice was about \$38,000. That all did not run smoothly during the time of building can be gathered from another mention of the exiled Bishop:

Msgr. Forbin-Janson has left here after having quarrelled with everybody; his church is hardly above ground; let anybody finish it who wants to. (P. 316.)

It does not seem that the Bishop of Nancy lost interest in the Church when he left the country, for it was he who, a few years later, induced the priests of the Society of Mary to take the church under their care.

Another account of the church in New York is in regard to the school question:

An unfortunate event has taken place here. The Catholic Bishop of New York is old, infirm and childish; they have given him a coadjutor, Mr. Hughes, made on this account Bishop in partibus Barianopolis. Mr. Hughes, who is an Irishman by birth, is very hotheaded and full of imprudent zeal, which has caused him to commit a fault

very injurious to the interests of Catholicism in this country. Every year the Legislature of New York votes the funds to be distributed amongst the primary schools, all directed by Protestants. The Catholics have protested against this measure, and demand a part of these funds for schools founded by them. This protest has been taken into consideration and sustained by many influential persons who recognize that as Catholics pay their share of the taxes, by the aid of which the schools are kept up, it is only just that they should have their share in the distribution. Bishop Hughes has insisted in the religious assemblies that justice should be done. If he had kept to this, nothing could have been better, and he would have before long obtained what he asked, but this is what he took into his head to do: The general election for one-third of the legislature being close at hand, he called a meeting, more political than religious, where he gave an incendiary discourse, in which he confided himself, not to generalities, but designated twelve candidates favorable to the distribution of the funds to Catholics. He so inflamed his audience, most of whom were poor Irish workmen, that in the excitement they behaved in a manner very much to be regretted. The next day the newspapers threw fire and flames against the Bishop, whom they accused of stirring up civil war. The twelve candidates designated by this prelate protested, and if they were elected it is probable they would not vote but against the Catholics; besides these senseless agitations of the clergy do a great deal of harm. (P. 343.)

In April, 1842, Bacourt wrote in this regard:

There has been a riot in New York, on the occasion of the Municipal elections. In this riot they sacked Bishop Hughes' house, to punish him for having taken such an active part in political questions; but he is only coadjutor, and an incumbent, Mgr. Dubois, who is 83 years old, was not at all respected by the mob, notwithstanding his great age and infirmities. The authorities arrived two hours after the pillage. (P. 387.)

JAMES S. BUCKINGHAM

AMERICA: HISTORICAL, STATISTIC AND DESCRIPTIVE. EASTERN AND
WESTERN STATES OF AMERICA. SLAVE STATES OF
AMERICA
(1838-1842)

James Silk Buckingham has been regarded as one of the most intelligent, energetic and liberal of British visitors to America before the Civil War. His previous life fitted him to fulfill this appreciation that has been given to him. He was born at Flushing, in 1786, and at an early age was sent to a naval academy at Falmouth. At the age of nine he was appointed to a ship and sailed the seas until

he witnessed a sailor expire after having been "flogged around the fleet" for desertion. Marrying at nineteen, he was left penniless by the speculations of a trustee of the estate he had inherited, and he commenced a remarkably varied and active career. He entered the field of journalism, first in England and then in India. From 1832 to 1837 he sat as a member of Parliament. He then traveled in America, lecturing on temperance and other reforms which he had espoused. He was a voluminous writer and his travels in Syria, Palestine and the Continent all led to the publication of useful books. On his American tour he wrote three books. The first to appear was his, *America: Historical, Statistic and Descriptive*, which appeared in three volumes in 1841. A year later he published, *Eastern and Western States of America*, also in three volumes; and before the end of the same year his *Slave States of America*, a two-volume work, was on the market. All eight volumes are replete with Catholic data of that period.

In his *America: Historical, Statistic and Descriptive*, there are a number of passing references which we will just mention: In New York State there were twenty-five Roman Catholic congregations. The City of Washington had three Churches and a Catholic College of Theology. Volume I, pages 386 to 397 contain a short history of Maryland. On page 408 of the same volume there is a lengthy description of the Cathedral at Baltimore. Of Philadelphia he states that the Catholic churches are on the increase and mentions St. John's Church. He also remarks that Girard, the founder of the College of that name, is a nominal Catholic. In the cities of Rochester and Albany there are two churches, in the State of New Hampshire and Providence, R. I., there was one.

In more detailed manner he mentions the construction of the church at Buffalo, New York:

The new Catholic Church is built outside and over the old one, which is left standing in the middle of the new edifice, so that the congregation may continue their worship, until the exterior church is finished. (III, p. 39.)

Of Baltimore and the charitable works there carried on he says:

The superintendence of the Hospital is under the Catholics of Baltimore; twelve nuns, called Sisters of Charity, are always in the house and subject to the superintending Sister of their own order.

The Baltimore Infirmary is another institution attached to the Medical Hospital college; this also is superintended in all its domestic arrangements by the Catholic Sisters of Charity.

A Catholic orphan asylum, for the education and support of the Catholic orphans, is under the management of the Sisters of Charity. (I, p. 417.)

Of the state of the Church in general in that city he writes:

The Roman Catholics far outstrip any other sect, in numbers and zeal. Besides their large and imposing Cathedral, by far the most prominent of all public buildings in the city, they have churches and chapels scattered over all parts of the town, and others rising up in every direction. The last new one that we saw just opened, has inscribed in large letters on the outside, "The Church of Mount Carmel and the Sacred Heart." The Catholic Archbishop and all the subordinate priesthood, are learned, pious, and clever men; the Sisters of Charity have among their number many intelligent and devoted women, and these, with the seminary for the education of Catholic youth, secure not merely the permanence of the present supremacy of Catholic numbers and Catholic influence, but its still further steady and progressive increase. (I, p. 439.)

Boston received a good deal of the traveler's attention. He states that Mass was first said in the city in 1788. (III, p. 299.) This is a reference to Father Poterie, who arrived in Boston from Angers and received faculties from Carroll on December, 24, 1788. Of the condition of the Church there at the time of his visit, it is observed that:

The Catholic population is very numerous, there being no less than 10,000 members of the Church, or one-eighth of the whole population of Boston (P. 344), and they are increasing in number. (P. 348.)

The history of the Ursulines in Boston is related in a few words:

A convent of Ursuline nuns also exists in Boston. This was originally of four nuns, who were invited here by Bishop Cheverus in 1820, and maintained by a provision made for them in the will of a Catholic gentleman named Thayer. They were employed for the first six years in the instruction of females; and having at that time increased in numbers, they removed to Charlestown, one of the suburbs of Boston, and there established the Ursuline community on Mount St. Benedict. This was in 1826, and they continued there until 1834, when the convent was destroyed by an intolerant mob of incendiaries and the nuns and inmates were obliged to save themselves by flight. The Convent has never been rebuilt at Charlestown, but the nuns now inhabit a large house near Pearl Street in Boston, and still continue the occupation of teaching female children. By this practice there is no doubt that they make many converts to their faith, and even add to their own number as nuns. (III, p. 348.)

In his three volumes, *Eastern and Western States*, Buckingham remarks in passing that there is one Catholic Church in each of the following cities:

Portland, Maine; Salem, Mass.; Worcester, Mass.; New Haven, Conn.; Wheeling, Va.; Louisville, Ky.; in Pittsburg there are two Churches; in Bardstown a Catholic College, and a total of six congregations in Maine.

The following recorded conversation is interesting and gives one an idea of the bitterness that was in the hearts of the missionaries in Maine:

In conversing with a clergyman of Boston, Bomaseen, an Indian captured in Maine, said that his people had been taught by the Jesuits to believe that the Virgin Mary was a French lady, and that her son, the Blessed Jesus Christ, had been murdered by the English; but that He had risen from the dead and gone to Heaven; and that all who wished to gain his favor there must avenge His death by making war upon the English. To this the English divine is said to have replied, taking a tankard of wine in his hand, "Jesus Christ gives us a good religion, like the good wine in this cup; God's book is the Bible, which holds this good drink; Englishmen give it to them pure, that is, we present the Holy Book to you in your own language; French priests hear you confess your sins and take beaver for it; Englishmen never sell pardons, they are free, and come from God only. (I, p. 139.)

The next reference to Catholics is quite different. It is indicative of the change that had come and the greater spirit of tolerance and goodwill, at least on the part of the people:

The Roman Catholics of the City, though not much given to Revivals, any more than are the Episcopalians, who rarely join them, are not nevertheless inactive, but in another way. It was thought desirable to build a Catholic Church at Fairmount, near the water works of Philadelphia, where a number of visitors are usually gathered on Sundays, for the pleasure of the excursion. But it was difficult to raise the funds for this purpose by the ordinary process of subscriptions; a fair was got up, to be held at the Masonic Hall, in Chestnut Street, just opposite the Morris House, where we resided. In any other country than this, none but the persons of Catholic belief and persuasion would have sent articles to this fair or bazaar for sale, or stood at stalls for the purpose of selling them to raise money for such a purpose. But here Protestants vied with Catholics in making and preparing novelties, and sending their contributions to the funds. The sum raised was considerable and said to amount upwards of \$5,000. This cooperation of Protestants with Catholics

to erect a religious edifice for the latter, would seem more extraordinary and inexplicable from the fact, that in no part of the Christian world is there more alarm expressed at the progress of Romanism as it is called than here. Sermons are preached against it, tracts are extensively circulated to counteract it, and all the horror and alarm which the High and Low Church Protestants of England and Ireland profess to feel at the growth of Romanism in Britain, is at least as warmly expressed here. (I. p. 566.)

Arriving in Baltimore at the time of the Breckenridge Case and witnessing the whole affair, he wrote:

The great topic of excitement during our stay in Baltimore was, however, a public controversy between the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, which had heretofore been carried on in the pulpit, in magazines and in public meetings, but had now found a new arena in the Criminal Court of Law. The Rev. Robert Breckenridge, a clergyman of Kentucky, but long resident here, was the champion of the Presbyterian side; and his disposition and temperament fitted him for a controversialist of the most unbending, fiery, zealous and ardent kind. II, p. 102.)

Buckingham goes on to describe the case, which was one of libel filed by James L. Macguire. The court sat for eight days, at the end of which the jury could not agree, ten being for the conviction of Breckenridge and two against it. Buckingham states that this was a disappointment to all, both Catholics and Protestants hoping for a decision that would be favorable to them.

Of Ohio the traveler relates:

The Roman Catholics are thought to be increasing rapidly, their present number being about 30,000. (II, p. 343.)

Of Cincinnati there is much recorded:

The largest and most prominent Church is the Catholic Cathedral, with its florid facade, its small towers and turrets, and its lofty central spire, surmounted by a cross. (II, p. 391.)

The Catholics, with a population of 12,000, are not only the most numerous, but said to be the most active, most zealous and most rapidly increasing, their unity giving them great advantages in this respect.

Of the schools, the Athenaeum, the most efficient of all, is under the direction of the Roman Catholics, with a more splendid edifice than either of the Protestant establishments, with abler teachers, more zealous proselytizers, and a larger number of students and pupils than any other single institution. (P. 393.)

The Athenaeum, a Roman Catholic college in this city, is educating about 2,000 children under the Society of Jesus. (II, p. 342.)

Passing on to St. Louis this quick observer found even more to relate in favor of Catholic activity:

There are six Catholic Churches, the principal one being the Cathedral, a large, fine building, nearly in the center of the city, capable of accommodating 3,000 worshippers without inconvenience. The other places of Catholic worship are the Jesuits' College, the nunnery, the hospital, the asylum and various other chapels under the direction of the Catholic clergy. The number of Catholic worshippers here amount to 12,000, or more than half of the Church going population of the city, and these are continually augmented by the fresh arrivals of German and Irish emigrants belonging to the Catholic Church, no less than 340 Germans having arrived in one boat from New Orleans during our stay in St. Louis. To meet the increasing wants of such a population, two splendid Catholic Churches are now building, one attached to the Jesuit College, and the other at the south extremity of the town. To raise funds for these, the Catholic Bishop, Rosate, has gone to Rome, from whence the most liberal aid is readily secured for the erection of churches and the propagation of Catholic Faith in distant lands. Nearly all the best educational and benevolent establishments of St. Louis are in the hands of the Catholics; and they manage them with such skill and attention, that this alone entitles them to the highest praise, and gives them great influence in society.

The Jesuits' College is called the University of St. Louis, the president and professors, of which there are ten, are all members of the Society of Jesus, and under these are eight masters or tutors. They are all Catholics and the greatest number are Belgians, though among them are also Italians, Spanish and Irish. Nothing seems to be wanting that is essential to such an institution. The University is incorporated by Charter or Act of Congress, passed in 1832, entitling them to confer degrees.

The Convent of the Sacred Heart is a Roman Catholic establishment for the education of females. The ladies of the Sisterhood whom we saw were altogether the most agreeable ladies I have yet seen as nuns.

Attached to this convent is an orphan asylum for girls, and in another part of the city is an orphan asylum for boys, both under the direction of those indefatigable messengers of peace and mercy, the Sisters of Charity. There is also a General Hospital, with a marine department for boatmen, and a lunatic asylum, all under the direction of the Sisters of Charity. (III, p. 90.)

A little further on, he remarks concerning the other Catholic centers of the State of Missouri:

Of the religious bodies the Roman Catholics are thought to have the predominance in numbers. They have two colleges, one in the vicinity of St. Louis, and the other south of Bois Brule. There are

several convents in the State, at which females are educated; and the Catholic Clergy, with the Bishop of St. Louis at their head, are very numerous, intelligent and zealous in their calling. (III, p. 106.)

Speaking of the mounds along the Mississippi, he says:

The most prominent of all these mounds is one, now called the Trappist Mound, from the fact that a monastery of the order of La Trappe was established here in the early days of the French settlements, and portions of the buildings and trees by which it was surrounded still remain. (III, p. 140.)

Buckingham then touches upon the life of Charles Carroll who had recently died. He mentions that at the signing of the Declaration the Catholic had put his entire fortune behind the cause by signing, "Charles Carroll of Carrollton." The funeral of the patriot is referred to, and the fact that three of his daughters had married into the English peerage. He concludes with the remark:

So that Patriotism, virtue, wealth, and honors are all happily blended with the venerable name of Carroll of Carrollton. (III, p. 151.)

The city of Chicago offered a rather poor Catholic showing at the time of Buckingham's visit. It was another case of rebellion which fortunately ended well. After saying that there are two Catholic Churches there, he continues:

Considerable excitement was occasioned during our stay here, by an expected riot among the Irish Catholics, on behalf of a priest who was a favorite among them. It appears that this reverend father had in some manner caused the Church of which he was pastor, and certain lands, house and furniture attached to it to be made by legal instrument, his own individual and exclusive property; and demeaning himself thus in secure and immovable possession, he defied all his ecclesiastical superiors. He had been for some long time intemperate, and it was alleged that he had also committed extensive frauds. This is certain, that the Catholic Bishop of the Diocese, and the Vicar General from St. Louis had come on to Chicago from the South, for the purpose of forcing the priest to surrender the property which he unlawfully held, and then publicly to excommunicate him. The expectation of this ceremony drew crowds of Protestants together on the Sunday morning it was appointed to take place; and the sympathy felt by the Irish laborers on the canal, here pretty numerous for one of their own priests, who freely drank whiskey with them, was such, that they had declared that they would clear the church, if any attempt was made to excommunicate their favorite. The Bishop and the Vicar General hearing this went among the men, and addressed them on the subject, reminding them of their allegiance

to the Church, and their duty of obedience to its decrees; told them that they knew no distinction of nation or habit among Catholics, but that the only distinction that must be maintained, was between worthy and unworthy, the faithful and the unfaithful sons of the Church, and concluded by warning them that if they offered the slightest resistance to any public ceremony enjoined by the Church, they would incur the guilt of sacrilege, and be accordingly subjected to the very pains and penalties of excommunication which they wished to avert from another. This had the effect of calming them into submission, and the priest learning this, consented to sign over to his superiors the property of the Church which he had unlawfully withheld from it, and to leave the town the following day, so that all further proceedings were stayed against him. (III, p. 263.)

The strength of the Church in Illinois and the promise of rapid growth was clearly visible at this time. We read that there were thirty Churches and at least 5,000 members. Of the future of the Church in that State, Buckingham says:

The increase of population, from German and Irish settlers, will no doubt increase the Catholic adherents still more rapidly than those of any other Church, though the whole population, native as well as foreign, is growing rapidly every year. (III, p. 281.)

Detroit had been the See of a Bishop for a few years before the visit of our traveler, but had not grown as rapidly as the other episcopal cities he had visited. He sums up the Catholic activities of the city briefly:

There are two Catholic Churches; one a large Cathedral for the French population, and the other a smaller church for the Irish and Germans; an orphan asylum, a German free school, and a French female charity school. (III, p. 388.)

The State of Michigan he accounts for as follows:

The Roman Catholics exceed the whole of the Protestants united, numbering about 20,000, of whom about 10,000 are of French descent, 8,000 English, Irish and German, and the remainder converted Indians and half-breeds. (III, p. 419.)

In his two volumes, *Slave States*, Buckingham makes a number of passing references to the Church as he did in his two other works. He mentions:

There was one Catholic Church in the cities of Augusta, Richmond and Columbia; two in Savannah; two Churches and a weekly Catholic paper in Charleston. The States of Virginia and Tennessee are said to have but a few Catholic congregations.

The State of Louisiana was to Buckingham, as to others, a section of great Catholic activities:

The predominant religion of the State has always been Roman Catholic, the subdivision of the area being into twenty ecclesiastical parishes, each of which is supplied with priests from the old Cathedral of New Orleans. Since the cession of the territory to the United States and its incorporation into the Union, the Protestant sects have somewhat increased. (I, p. 309.)

His impressions of New Orleans were very favorable and much of the Catholic life of the city is related:

In 1727, a large party of Jesuits and Ursulines arrived from France, and established themselves in a convent, on land granted to them by the city.

In 1763 the Jesuits were expelled from all the dominions of the Kings of France, Spain and Naples, by a decree of Clement XIII, and they were accordingly obliged to leave New Orleans. Their property which was seized and sold under an order of the Council, then procured \$180,000, and it is said that the same property is now worth \$15,000,000, at least, merely as land, exclusive of the buildings and improvements made on it, so great has been the increase in the value of land within the city. (I, p. 312.)

The oldest and most remarkable building is the Cathedral. This edifice was commenced in 1792 and completed in 1794 at the expense of Don Andre Almonaster, Perpetual Rigidor, and Alvarez Real, on condition of Mass being offered for the soul of its founder every Saturday evening, a condition which is rigidly fulfilled. The first curate of the parish that was appointed to this Cathedral, was Antonio de Sedella, who filled that office for upwards of fifty years, having come to New Orleans in 1779 and dying in 1837, at the age of 90 years. He is buried at the foot of the altar at which he served so long and faithfully, and has left behind him a reputation for virtue and benevolence, which many a Christian pastor might be proud to enjoy. (I, p. 327.)

The other two religious edifices of the Catholics, comprehend the Ursuline Convent, founded in 1733, now more than a century old, and the most ancient edifice existing in the city; the Ursuline Chapel, built in 1787, and St. Antoine's, or the mortuary chapel, at which all the funeral services are now performed. A larger and more splendid building is intended to be erected, under the name of St. Patrick's Church, the design of which is to be in imitation of York Munster. (I, p. 328.)

The Ursuline Nuns, in their convent, now removed from the city as their valuable property within the city was recently sold at a greatly increased value, for the benefit of the funds, have a boarding school for young ladies, which is accounted one of the best in the State. The Sisters of Charity also have a large establishment for

young ladies in the parish of St. James, where everything required is taught with great ability. In the Convent of the Opelousas is another excellent female school, and the Jesuits have an excellent establishment at the same place for the education of boys, which is conducted by ten professors and teachers from France. These are, of course, all Catholic schools, though many Protestants have their children taught at them from the great attention bestowed on the pupils and the advancement in every branch of learning. (I, p. 361.)

FREDERICK MARRYAT

A DIARY IN AMERICA (1839)

Captain Frederick Marryat, the well-known novelist, was forty-five years of age when he arrived in America. He was at that time almost as widely read in this country as in Europe. He was born in England and was a naval officer during the Napoleonic Wars. He retired to civil life in 1830, about a year after his first book had appeared in this country. He had seen a great deal of the world during his naval career, and had toured Europe after his retirement. It was, according to his own account, during his wanderings in Europe that he decided to visit America, to make a study of this country for a comparison with that of Switzerland. He was also perplexed by the different accounts of the country that he had read and was desirous of finding the truth for himself. He was well received in this country, and his visit to New York coincided with the first presentation of a nautical drama, *The Ocean Wolf*, which he had written. In all his comments he was most fair to all that he saw in this country, and contradicted a number of previous writers, who had been unfavorable to American Institutions. We have observed in this work, that while he was not attached to the Church, and claimed not to be opposed to it, he quotes from a number of writers who were professedly enemies of Catholicism.

In a general statistical account of all the religions of the country he says of the Catholics:

Congregations, 433; Ministers, 389; Population, 800,000. (P. 202.)

A little further on he mentions that the Protestant religion is showing a decided loss in this country and then mentions the growth of the Catholic cause, quoting a number of authors in regard to the increase and possible future of the Church in the United States:

If the Protestant cause is growing weaker every day from the disunions and indifference, there is one creed which is as rapidly gaining strength. I refer to the Catholic Church, which is silently,

but surely advancing. Its great field is in the West, where in some States, almost all are Catholics, or from neglect and ignorance altogether indifferent as to religion. The Catholic priests are diligent, and make a large number of converts every year and the Catholic population is added to by the number of Irish and German emigrants to the West, who are almost all of them of the Catholic persuasion. Although it is not forty years since the first Roman Catholic See was created, there are now in the United States, a Catholic population of 800,000 souls under the government of the Pope, an archbishop, twelve bishops and 433 priests. The number of Churches is about 401; Mass houses, about 300; colleges, 10; of seminaries for young men, 9; theological seminaries, 5; noviciates for Jesuits, monasteries, convents, with academies attached, 31; seminaries for young ladies, 30; schools of the Sisters of Charity, 29; an academy for colored girls at Baltimore; a female infant school and seven Catholic newspapers. (P. 220.)

The following quotations are from different sources concerning the Church. The first is taken from de Tocqueville, which we have already included in our consideration of that author's work. The second is from the author of *A Voice in America*, who, like de Tocqueville, foresaw the growth of the Church in America, due to the democratic spirit found therein. Then follows a quotation from Harriet Martineau's *Society in America*, which we had occasion to mention when treating the works of that author. A certain Doctor Reid is next quoted as follows:

I found the people at this time under some uneasiness, in relation to the spread of Romanism. The partisans of that system are greatly assisted from Europe by supplies of money and teachers. The teachers have usually acquired more competency than the native instructors; and this is a temptation to parents who are seeking accomplishments for their children, and who have a high idea of European refinements. It appeared that out of four schools, provided for the wants of the town (Lexington, Kentucky) three were in the hands of Catholics. (P. 221.)

This minister, Reid, goes at some length to show that the Pope, who is in fear of expulsion from Europe, is preparing for himself a place in the new world. This he says, is being accomplished by the Leopold Society and the education of youth, Protestant as well as Catholic. He urges that this manner of procedure be watched, because, "Popery and Jesuitism are one." The author, Marryat, then proceeds:

Judge Halburton asserts, that all America will be Catholic. That all America west of the Allighenies will eventually be Catholic I

have no doubt, as the Catholics are already in the majority, and there is nothing, as Mr. Cooper observes, to prevent any State from establishing that or any other religion as the religion of the State; and this is one of the dark clouds which hang over the destiny of the Western Hemisphere. . . . Indeed what with their revivals, their music and their singing, every class and sect in the States have even now fallen into Catholicism so far, that religion has become more of an appeal to the senses than to calm and sober judgment. (P. 222.)

In a footnote Marryat pays the following tribute to the Catholic teachers:

The Catholic priests who instruct, are to my knowledge the best educated men in the country. It was a pleasure to be in their company. (P. 223.)

An earlier mention of Catholics in this work, is in connection with the burning of the Charlestown Convent:

The Americans are excessively curious, especially the mob; they cannot bear anything like a secret—that's unconstitutional. It may be remembered that the Catholic Convent, near Boston, which has existed for many years, was attacked by a mob and pulled down. I was inquiring into the causes of this outrage in a country where all forms of religion are tolerated, and an American gentleman told me that although other reasons had been adduced for it, he fully believed, in his own mind, that the majority of the mob were influenced more by curiosity than any other feeling. (P. 28.)

CHARLES LYELL

TRAVELS IN NORTH AMERICA (1841-1842)

Charles Lyell, the famous geologist, made his first visit to the United States in 1841. He was already known as the author of *Principles of Geology*, which gave to the world the nomenclature for the geological eras. He was born in Scotland in 1797, the son of a botanist. His primary reason for coming to America was scientific, and he was successful in this purpose. He estimated the rate at which the falls were receding at Niagara, and so forth. He was a man of great freshness of mind and intellectually curious, matured by an unusual education. He had been graduated from Oxford, had trained for the bar, and traveled extensively in Europe. He made a second visit to the United States and left a record of it, but this is outside the limit of this essay and consequently will not be considered. The first trip, which is recorded in *Travels in North America*, con-

tained little of interest in the Church. Of the school question Lyell remarked:

In New York the Roman Catholic priests have recently agitated with no small success for a separate allotment of their share of the Education Fund. They have allied themselves, as in the Belgian Revolution, with the extreme democracy to carry their point, and may materially retard the progress of education. But there is no reason to apprehend that any one sect in New England will have power to play the same game, and these States are the chief colonizers of the West. (I, p. 121.)

This movement was not for a new law, but for the enforcement of the school law of 1812. It was turned down by the City Committee and then taken to the State Legislature. The Catholics lost their point, but gained in some measure, in that the State was in the future to control the educative system and Catholics were in a position to elect members to the State board. The bad effects of the measure were related in the excerpts we have taken from Bacourt.

It is interesting to note that this author felt that the Tractarian Movement was finding its way into the American Universities (I, p. 272), and also another point which was noticed:

I had no opportunity of witnessing the good example said to be given by the Roman Catholic Clergy in prohibiting all invidious distinctions in their Churches. (I, p. 212.)

Lyell could see the storm that was gathering against the Catholics when he wrote:

Some of the more highly educated class, especially lawyers, expressed their alarm at the growing strength of the Democratic party in Ohio, owing to the influx of Irish and German laborers, nearly all Roman Catholics and very ignorant. These new comers, they said, had lately turned the election against a majority of native Americans, their superiors in wealth and mental culture. (II, p. 79.)

JOSEPH STURGE

A VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES (1841)

Joseph Sturge was born at Elberton on August 2, 1793. After he had finished school he undertook to assist his father in farming. From his earliest years he had espoused the anti-slavery cause and was one of the founders of the Anti-slavery Society, whose program called for entire and immediate emancipation. He traveled through the British Isles to arouse interest in this cause, and, after a trip to

the West Indies, he succeeded in having an Abolition bill passed by Parliament. He traveled to the United States in 1841 with the poet Whittier, to observe the conditions of the slaves. On his return to England he published his, *Visit to the United States*. The active and unpopular part that he took in these reform movements he considered to be his duty as a Christian. On one occasion in 1850, he succeeded in stemming the tide of anti-papal agitation in Birmingham. He died at Birmingham in 1859.

Concerning the slave question in the United States, he says in regard to the Catholic Church:

I was informed not long since, even the Roman Catholics, who are more free from the contamination than many other religious bodies, had in some part of the State, sold several of their own Church members, and applied the proceeds to the erection of a place of worship. We called on the Roman Catholic Bishop to inquire into the truth of this, but he was from home. When in Philadelphia, I gave the particulars to a priest in conversation, and said I would be glad to be furnished the means of contradicting it. I have not heard from him since. (P. 45.)

CHARLES DICKENS

AMERICAN NOTES

(1842)

Charles Dickens, the great English novelist, after finishing his *Barnaby Rudge*, felt the need of some change of mental activity. To this end he started to write the *Clock*, intending to visit Ireland and America and in these countries to write descriptive papers for the new novel. This work was soon discontinued, but his desire to seek fresh fields remained. He set out for America in January, 1842, and returned to England the following June after a reception that might well have turned his head, to write his *American Notes*. He had been run after, stared at and cheered with greater enthusiasm than if he had been a crown potentate. The American people felt that his *Notes*, as well as his endeavor to enlighten them on the matter of copyright, were but poor return for the welcome he had received at their hands. When he returned to this country in 1867 and delivered a series of readings in a number of our cities, America seems to have forgotten and to have forgiven him, and flocked to hear his discourses. As the public were, so must the Church historian be disappointed in the contents of *American Notes*. Only on two occasions did Dickens find Catholic institutions that he thought worthy of mention. The first reads:

At Georgetown, in the suburbs, there is a Jesuit College, delightfully situated, and so far as I had the opportunity of seeing, well managed. Many persons who are not members of the Romanish Church avail themselves, I believe, of these institutions, and of the advantageous opportunities they afford for the education of their children. (Chap. VIII.)

The Roman Catholic religion introduced here by the early settlers, prevails here extensively. Among the public institutions are a Jesuit College, a College of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, and a large chapel attached to the College, which was in course of erection at the time of my visit, and was intended to be consecrated on the second of December the following year. The architect of this building is one of the reverend fathers of the school, and the works proceed under his sole direction. The organ will be sent from Belgium.

In addition to these establishments there is a Roman Catholic Cathedral, dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, and a hospital founded by the munificence of a deceased resident who was a member of that Church. It also sends missionaries from hence among the Indian tribes. Chap. XII.)

SUMMARY

The final period of our essay, while the shortest of the three, found in this country the greatest number of travelers, due to the facility of transatlantic travel. The records of these visitors are large in territorial extent, due to the rapidity with which the Church in the United States had spread. This growth of the Church attracted the attention of the foreigner as well as that of the American, and the same fears are expressed in this regard. These works contain as well some mention of the outbreaks against the Church, which was the result of this unwarranted fear. A few pleas for tolerance are found in these accounts, Harriet Martineau entering one in each of her works. There is a constant admiration of various Catholic edifices such as the Cathedrals at Baltimore and New Orleans and the Gothic Chapel at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore. Catholic schools receive the highest praise, even from those who were in fear because of their belief of the bad influences of the Catholic Educational System. The schools of the Jesuits and the Ursulines are the most frequently mentioned. Many of these writings are replete with statistics, noticeably that of Stephen Davis, who used them to warn non-Catholics of the rise of Catholicism as a power. Mention is made of the attempt to pass favorable legislation in New York in regard to school support, and the unhappy outcome was foreseen.

A greater number of Catholic persons are mentioned in the books of this period than were in the two earlier ones, most attention being

given to Bishops Marechal, Dubourg and Cheverus, with one fine account of the Sulpicians in Baltimore. The Catholic clergy as a whole are remarked as both educated and zealous. The work of de Tocqueville contains an excellent treatment of the appropriateness of Catholicism in the American Democracy. James Silk Buckingham, who, in eight large volumes, has written a very complete account of the entire country, mentions the Catholic activities wherever he found them. His accounts are at times only passing references to the existence of a church in a certain section. The greatest value of the works of this period is to be found in the comments upon the Catholic clergy and the apprehension caused by the growth of the Church.

PART IV

GENERAL SUMMARY

Travel literature as a source for American Church history contains many more references than will probably be supposed on first thought. While it is true that there is recorded a good amount of information, it is as a whole of small importance. Those parts of the country which witnessed Catholic activities, were all visited by foreigners. In the period previous to the Revolution, the hazards of a transatlantic voyage was not conducive to American travel. The condition of the country prevented those who did visit the country from traveling about to any great extent. During the hundred years before our separation from England, there were only seven travelers who have left us records of any extensive travel in this country. Two of these, Charlevoix and Bossu, visited most of the Mississippi and Lake settlements, the others visiting mainly the cities of Atlantic coast. During the Revolution, travel was confined to the war area and restricted to those engaged in the conflict. During the period from the close of the war until 1815, no less than forty Europeans, mostly English and French, wrote accounts of their American travels. Each of these thirty years is considered by one or another of these travelers. The mode of travel was still primitive and the geographical extent of their wanderings is not much greater than those of the first period. There was toward the end of this period an occasional visit to the cities of Ohio and Western Pennsylvania, which places were being gradually settled. The following years (1815-1842) witnessed travel of greater territorial extent. The Westward Movement was afoot, towns were springing up almost overnight and this phenomenal growth attracted the attention of the European. The frontier towns were frequently visited; and trans-

portation on the rivers and well organized stage lines made travel between the larger cities of the East of comparative ease. During the last period there was hardly a city of any size that was not visited and which did not receive at least passing mention in one or another of the travel accounts of over one hundred writers. The Southern States are not extensively treated in these books, but those of the country north of the Mason-Dixon line, as well as the entire Mississippi Valley, received frequent and extensive treatment and comment by the visitors. The travel literature which is here considered, in regard to the territory which it concerns, follows the Western Movement and contains a fair account of social and economic conditions.

The Catholic Church has not been excluded from these writings. A summary of the entire travel literature gives one a fair view of the condition of the Church in any particular period. The centers of Catholic activity quite naturally receive the greatest amount of attention. Baltimore, Boston, New York and New Orleans presented the best fields for observation of the Church, with St. Louis and Cincinnati growing into prominence toward the end of this period. The Jesuits and the Ursulines were frequently noticed, the former because of their missionary work among the Indians and their educational endeavors, the latter because of the successful young ladies' academies established by that order. A few passages stand out among those we have found in these works. Milbert's short sketch of Bishop Cheverus and Bernard's account of and appreciation of Charles Carroll are typical of the admiration in which these two prominent Catholics were held by the public. Harriet Martineau's pleas for toleration is evidence of the feelings entertained even by Protestants at the time when the Church was suffering from the intolerance of her enemies. Abbé Robin, in his pen picture of Boston in Revolutionary days, gives one a fair insight into the conditions which prevailed throughout all the New England settlements. De Tocqueville has left us a very clear exposition of the reasons why the Catholic faith is in perfect accord with all the principles of American democracy and the propriety of the Church existing in this country. The Gallipolis Colony has been quite fully treated by Thomas Ashe. Carl Bernhard was in the Baltimore Cathedral during the consecration of Bishop Benedict Fenwick of Boston and carefully sets down the details of the ceremony. Others record interviews with Bishops and priests and these are valuable.

As a general rule it might be said, that whatever is mentioned in these travel accounts concerning the Church, is always in a spirit of respect and praise. Those who viewed with fear the evident ad-

vance of the Church in this country could not help praising her works. The prelates of the Church are invariably referred to as learned and zealous men, suited for their elevated positions. The clergy in general are likewise praised. Missionary endeavor among the Indians is recorded in a pleasant manner and marked with success. Schools under Catholic auspices and charitable works in general are referred to in a manner that leaves no doubt as to the favorable impression these institutions made upon visitors. Very early in the century the Catholic Cathedrals drew words of admiration from the most critical of writers. The zeal of Catholics is commented upon probably more than anything else.

There is little for which the Church is adversely criticized by these travelers. Trusteeism and the Hogan case in particular drew forth a few bitter remarks upon the Church of Philadelphia and reflected upon the entire Church in America. The building of a church by lottery was condemned by some and highly praised by others. Vinge relates an incident at Mackinac which to his mind was disgraceful to the Church, but investigation on this point indicates that this was but a personal opinion of Vinge. Beltrami, who seems an avowed enemy of the Society of Jesus, lost no opportunity of condemning them and all their works. His account leaves no room for one to doubt his prejudices. Smyth has referred to the same Society in a like manner, when he wrote of their activities in Maryland. Moreau de St. Mery, being embittered by an unfortunate event in Philadelphia, gives way to a number of harsh remarks concerning the Church and the ministers in that part. Bishop Hughes of New York was criticised by Bacourt because of his stand in the school question. That the Frenchman was justified in his remarks has been proved by the outcome of the event which he foretold. Bishop Plessis laments the delay of Bishop Connolly in coming to his new See, and questions the action which resulted in the substitution of the administrator of the New York Diocese without having taken the proper means to effect this substitution. These are the only complaints lodged against the Church and her actions in these works.

Great as is the comment upon the Church in this travel literature, there was much of import that passed unnoticed. There is little mention of the early Spanish missions of Florida, California, Texas and Arizona. The early missionary work in New York is not treated in any suitable fashion, and the work among the Indians on the Lakes and in the Mississippi Valley had no contemporary recorder until the time of Charlevoix. For information concerning these

above mentioned activities of the Church in America, we can in no wise depend upon travel literature. In those places where there was considerable travel and about which much was written, all mention of a number of outstanding factors of Church life is omitted. The number of travelers who have mentioned the early settlement of Maryland, have all failed to mention that there was a toleration act in force under Catholic rule. The intolerance in New York is not mentioned in any detail, although St. John de Crevecoeur, who suffered under this intolerance, wrote some account of his stay in that State. The part which Catholics took in the Revolution is not mentioned even by the Abbé Robin. There is no mention of the Catholics who served on the Commission to Quebec. An outstanding omission is that of Bishop John Carroll, who is only mentioned in passing. At no period did the Catholics of New York attract any amount of attention from non-Catholics other than at the time of the attempted School Bill. We look in vain for a real explanation of the cause of Trusteeism, or for a defender of the Church in that issue. Sympathy was ever with Hogan and his ilk. There is absolute silence about the different Provincial Councils of the period. Persons of high station in the Church were entirely overlooked, as was the case with Bishops Kelly, Neale, Whitfield, Rosati and Conwell, as well as Mrs. Seton. Others were but mentioned in connection with some other item as is the case with Bishops Dubois, Egan, Flaget and England. Added to these is a list of minor activities of the Church which are not even alluded to, and though it is not a surprising fact, there is an absolute lack of knowledge of the inner life of the Church in this country.

In conclusion we might say that the remarks of the traveler are an aid in following the history of the Church. Of this nature are the works of Plessis and Bacourt; of Smyth in regard to the Acadians; Charlevoix and Bossu for a view of the Mississippi Valley; Robin for his portrayal of the city of Boston and the Acadians in Maryland; *The Journal of a French Traveler* for an excellent picture of conditions in Maryland at the time of his visit; and to numerous others who throw light on the anti-Catholic conditions in this country, and give us a few glimpses into the characters of numerous persons. Yet with all this, we can say that this travel literature can not be looked upon in any instance as absolutely indispensable source material. There is not a reference in these pages that open our view to new knowledge of the past. The standard American Church histories contain, from other sources, all that is here contained and recorded by travelers. At best our visitors have left us in their records, aids

to forming mental pictures of the times, and some personal appreciation of the characters in our history, with which the writer of history might be able to possess a broader view of the activities that he must relate.

APPENDIX

This index has reference to the works used in this essay, indicating the location of the excerpts from these books. In the references the following symbols will be used: To indicate works of Buckingham, (A) will refer to his *America*, (E&W) to his *Eastern and Western States*, (SS) to his *Slave States*. Harriet Martineau's works will be referred to by (Ret.) for *Retrospect of Western Travel*, and (Soc.) for *Society in America*. AHR refers to the *American Historical Review*.

Abel, Father; Stuart, II, 327.

Acquaroni, Father, Beltrami, II, 497.

Albany, N. Y.; Buckingham, (A) II, 313; Plessis, I, 163.

Almonaster, Don Andre; Buckingham, (SS) I, 137; Ashe, 336.

Acadians; Robin, 43; Smyth, I, 249; Moreau de St. Mery, 95; Bacourt, 186.

Athenaeum (Cinn.); Buckingham, (E&W) II, 342, 393.

Augusta, Ga.; Buckingham, (SS) I, 165.

Baltimore; Trollope, 167; Bernhard, I, 163; Buckingham, (A) I, 417, 439; (E&W) II, 102; Bacourt, 47, 54.

Cathedral: Davis, 109; Vinge, I, 122; Stuart, I, 392; Moreau de St. Mery, 88; Buckingham (A), I, 408; Zavola, 199.

Built by lottery: Blane, 34; Janson, 102. (*Vide* St. Mary's.)

Baltimore, Lord: Bernard, 138.

Bardstown: Warden, II, 337; Bernhard, II, 134; Buckingham (E&W), II, 494.

Bishops: *Vide*: Concanen, Connelly, Carroll, Dubois, Dubourg, Eccleston, Egan, England, Fenwick, B.; Fenwick, E.; Flaget, Forbin-Janson, Hughes, Mareschal, Rese, Rosati.

Bishops, election of: Bacourt, 54; Plessis, I, 151.

Breckenridge: Buckingham (E&W), III, 39.

Boston: Dankers, 388; Robin, 13; Milbert, III, 20; Kendall, II, 243; Palmer, 185; Buckingham (E&W), III, 299, 344; Bacourt, 152; Winterbotham, II, 140; Plessis, I, 143.

Brosius, Father: Plessis, I, 154.

Buffalo, N. Y.: Buckingham (A), III, 39.

Calvert, Leonard: AHR, vol. 27, p. 76.

Capuchins: Bossu, 24; Buckingham (SS), I, 327.

Carroll, Charles: AHR, vol. 27, p. 73.

- Carroll of Annapolis: AHR, vol. 27, p. 74.
 Carroll, Charles, of Carrollton; Buckingham (E&W), III, 151;
 Bernhard, 85; Stuart, I, 378; Vinge, I, 134.
 Carroll, John: Plessis, 138, 147, 149, II, 41;
 Promotion by Jefferson: Bacourt, 54;
 Interdict on St. Mary's, Philadelphia: Moreau de St. Mery, 365.
 Carthage, N. Y.: Milbert, II, 29.
 Carthusians: Carver, 142.
 Charities: Bacourt, 81; Buckingham (A), I, 417; (E&W), III, 119.
 Charlestown, Mass.: *Vide Ursulines*.
 Charleston, N. C.: Buckingham (SS), I, 49, 55.
 Cheverus, Bishop: Milbert, XIV, XVI; Plessis, I, 139, 146, 150.
 Chicago: Buckingham (E&W), III, 263.
 Cincinnati: Fordham, 191; Zavola, 70; Bernhard, II, 137; Trollope,
 100; Buckingham (E&W), II, 342, 391, 393.
 Cahokia: Brown, 29; Palmer, 415; Charlevoix, II, 217; Bossu, 159.
 Columbia: Chateaubriand, II, 139; Buckingham (SS), II, 26.
 Concanen, Bishop: Plessis, I, 151, 160.
 Confirmation conferred: Davis, 24; Plessis, I, 140; II, 53.
 Congregationalists: Anbrey, II, 65.
 Connelly, Bishop: Milbert, I, 154; II, 29; Plessis, I, 160.
 Controversy: (Baltimore) Buckingham (E&W), II, 102; (Mackinac)
 Vinge, II, 120.
- Delnot, Abbe: Bacourt, 54.
 Democracy, in Spanish colony: Chateaubriand, II, 125, in U. S.;
 De Tocqueville, I, 304, II, 30.
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 Carver, 142; Plessis, II, 41.
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 Dubourg, Bishop: Beltrami, II, 494; Bernhard, II, 64, 83, 99.
- Eccleston, Bishop: Bacourt, 47.
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- Fenwick, Benedict: Bernhard, I, 168; Plessis, I, 159.
 Fenwick, Edward: Bernhard, II, 137; Martineau (Ret.), II, 50;
 Trollope, 100.
 Flaget, Bishop: Plessis, I, 151; II, 42, 53.
 Florissant, Mo.: Beltrami, II, 494.
 Forbin-Janson, Bishop: Bacourt, 47, 270, 316.
 Ford, Athenasius: Smyth, I, 249.
 Fort St. Peter: Beltrami, II, 212.
 Fredericktown: Bernhard, I, 185.

French, in Maine: Buckingham (E&W), I, 139; at Gallipolis, Ashe, 163; refugees of St. Domingo, Moreau de St. Mery, 55; false ideas of French in Massachusetts, Robin, 18.

Frenchtown, Md.: Moreau de St. Mery, 95.

Future of the Church: Marryat, 22; Neilson, 227; De Tocqueville, II, 30.

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Hughes, Bishop: Barcourt, 343, 387.

Hunter, Father: AHR, vol. 27, p. 70; Smyth, II, 94, 114.

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at Loretto: Liancourt, I, 322.

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at Sioux Portage: Beltrami, II, 497.

in Maine: Plessis, I, 138 Buckingham (E&W), I, 139.

Intolerance: Marryat, 28; Buckingham (A) II, 348; AHR, vol. 27, p. 82; Martineau (Ret.) II, 55; (Soc.) III, 234; Kendall, III, 63; Davis, 260; Abdy, II, 358; Warden, I, 303 II, 48; Anburey, II, 65.

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Jefferson, Thos.: Bacourt, 54.

Jesuits: Davis, 24; Buckingham (E&W), III, 119; (SS), I, 312; Plessis, I, 160, 162.

in Boston: Dankers, 388.

Kaskaskias: Charlevoix, II, 277.

Mississippi Valley: Charlevoix, II, 227.

Maryland: AHR, vol. 27; Smyth, ii, 114.

La Plata: Beltrami, II, 165. *Vide*: Hunter; Diggs; Lewis; George-town; St. Louis; Cincinnati; Fenwick, B.

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Kentucky: Winterbotham, III, 149.

Kohlmann, Father: *Plessis*, I, 160.

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Lewis, S. J., Father: Smyth, II, 94.

Lexington, Ky.: Buckingham (E&W) II, 506; Marryat, 220.

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Mareschal, Bishop: Bernhard, I, 163.

Martial, Abbe: Bernhard, I, 163.

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44; Smyth, II, 94, 114; Moreau de St. Mery, 88, 95; *vide*: Balti-
more, St. Mary's.

Massachusetts: Rochemont, I, 321; *vide*: Boston: Ursulines.

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Matignon, Father: Plessis, I, 140, 170, 321.

McQuade, Father: Plessis, I, 163.

Mercier, Abbe: Charlevoix, II, 219; Bossu, 159.

Michigan: Buckingham (E&W), III, 419.

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354.

Mississippi Valley: Charlevoix, II, 227.

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Natchez: Charlevoix, II, 277.

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New Haven: Buckingham (E&W), I, 388.

New Jersey: Warden, II, 48; Dankers, 147.

New Orleans: Ashe, 153; Zavola, 25; Buckingham (SS), I, 312, 327;
Bernhard, II, 56.

New York State: AHR, vol. 27, Buckingham (A), I, 189; Moreau de
St. Mery, 163; Winterbotham, II, 317; Palmer, 306; Warden, II,
317; Davis, 73; Milbert, I, 154; II, 29; Bacourt, 343, 378; Lyell,
I, 121; Plessis, 158.

Norfolk: Moreau de St. Mery, 55; Liancourt, II, 17.

Nuns: *Vide*: Sisters of Charity; Visitation Nuns; Ursulines.

Ohio: Buckingham (E&W), II, 343; Lyell, II, 79.

Periodicals, Cath.: Stuart, II, 327.

Philadelphia: Kalm, I, 43; Burnaby, 60; AHR, vol. 27, p. 78; Robin,
41; Moreau de St. Mery, 365; Buckingham (E&W), I, 566; Blane
489; Buckingham (A), III, 40; 62, 64; Beltrami, II, 44; Stuart,
I, 378.

Pittsburgh: Buckingham (E&W), II, 179, Ashe, 28.

Plowden: Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, 101.

Politics: Bacourt, 343; 387; De Tocqueville, I, 304; Lyell, I, 121;
II, 79.

Portland, Maine: Buckingham (E&W), I, 195; Plessis, I, 144.

Poterie, Father: Plessis, I, 147.

Pratt, Father: Plessis, I, 160.

Priests: *Vide*: Fathers Abel, Acquaroni, Brosius, Delnot, SS.; Diggs, S. J.; Hill, O. P.; Hogan; Hunter, S. J.; Kohlmann, S. J.; Lewis, S. J.; Maehout, Malou, McQuade, Mercier, Martial, Mathews, Matignon, Poterie, Pratte, Rale, Ranza, Rese, Richards, Romagne, Rousselet, Sedella, St. Cosme, Sulpicians, Taumer, Thayer, Verheggen, Wheeler.

Priests of Columbia: Chateaubriand, II, 136.

Priests in General: Charlevoix, 277; DeTocqueville, II, 28; Buckingham (E&W), III, 106; Davis, 24; Marryat, 223.

Providence, R. I.: Buckingham (A), III, 472.

Rale, Father: Kendall, III, 63.

Ranza, Father: Plessis, I, 162.

Romagne, Father: Plessis, I, 139.

Reading, Pa.: Liancourt, I, 26.

Rese, Bishop: Bernhard, II, 137.

Respect for Catholics: Buckingham (E&W), I, 566; Cooper, II, 136.

Richard, Abbe; Plessis, II, 41.

Richards, Father: Bernhard, II, 205.

Richmond: Buckingham (SS), I, 422.

Rochester: Buckingham (A), III, 66.

Rousselet, Father: Plessis, I, 148.

Savannah: Buckingham (SS), I, 121.

Salem, Mass.: Buckingham (E&W), I, 276.

Schools: Bacourt, 73, 343; Zavola, 259; Warden, II, 551; Marryat, 223; Dickens, chaps. 8 and 12; Buckingham (A), I, 363; (E&W), III, 106, 119, 388; II, 494, 393, 342; Trollope, 187; Vinge, I, 122, 146; Milbert, II, 29; Beltrami, II, 494; Plessis, I, 162; II, 43.

Sedella, Father: Buckingham (SS), I, 327; Zavola, 25.

Seminaries: Grund, I, 242; Bernard, II, 99; Bacourt, 54.

Sioux Portage: Beltrami, II, 497.

Sisters of Charity: Buckingham (A), I, 417, 439.

South Carolina: Buckingham (SS), I, 45.

Spanish Colonies: Chateaubriand, II, 125; *vide*: Louisiana: New Orleans.

Spread of Catholicism: Bacourt, 73; Abdy, III, 93; Murray, II, 308; Davis, 24; Bacourt, 47; Buckingham (A), III, 344; (E&W), III, 281.

St. Charles: Bernhard, II, 99.

St. Louis: Beltrami, II, 125; Buckingham (E&W), III, 90-119; Dickens, chap. XII.

St. Mary's: Zavola, 199; Vinge, I, 122; Bacourt, 54; Buckingham (A), I, 423; Trollope, 167.

Statistics: AHR, vol. 27, p. 70; Robin, 41; Winterbotham, 1383; Palmer, 276; Warden, II, 88; III, 484; Stuart, I, 289; Bacourt, 81; Buckingham (E&W), II, 343, 393; III, 119, 419; (SS), I, 312; (A) III, 344; Marryat, 202, 222; Plessis, I, 160.

Stubenville, Ohio: Buckingham (E&W), II, 242.

Sulpicians: Bossu, 159; Bacourt, 47, 54; Plessis, I, 139; *vide*: St. Mary's.

Taumer, Father: Charlevoix, II, 219.

Tennessee: Buckingham (SS), I, 269.

Thayer, Father: Plessis, I, 148, 150.

Tractarianism: Lyell, I, 271.

Trappists: Buckingham (E&W), III, 140; Plessis, I, 162.

Trusteeism: Moreau de St. Mery, 365; Winterbotham, II, 334.

Tyler, President (Cath. Tendencies of); Bacourt, 380.

Ursulines: Charlestown-Martineau (Soc.), II, 234; (Ret.) II, 55; Abdy, III, 258; Bacourt, 152; Buckingham (A), III, 348; Marryat, 28.

New Orleans-Buckingham (SS), I, 312, 328, 361; Warden, II, 551; Bossu, 24.

Utica, N. Y.: Milbert, I, 154.

Verheggen, Father: Bernhard, II, 99.

Virginia: Dankers, 218; AHR, vol. 26, p. 743; Buckingham (SS), 536; Abdy, III, 93.

Visitation Nuns: Davis, 24; Vinge, I, 146; Trollope, 186; Buckingham (A), I, 363.

Washington, D. C.: Bacourt, 70, 81; Trollope, 186; Buckingham (A), I, 363.

Wheeler, Father: Bernhard, I, 168.

Wheeling, W. Va.: Buckingham (E&W), II, 258.

Worcester, Mass.: Buckingham (E&W), I, 330; Plessis, I, 155.

Zeal: Buckingham (E&W), II, 393; Murray, II, 308; Davis, 23.

THE DARK AND THE BLOODY GROUND

The exploration of what is now known as Kentucky occurred many years before the War of Independence of the English Colonies in America. For the Indians and the whites this region, one of the fairest in the world, had long been regarded as the hunter's paradise. Scores of adventurers, backwoodsmen, traders and pioneer settlers had traversed these primeval forests in search of fur animals and game. Of these early wanderers in the wilderness only fragments of tradition remain. One of the first explorers of whom there is any record was a certain Colonel Wood who came in 1654. Nearly a century later Dr. Thomas Walker of Virginia, explorer and surveyor, crossed the Cumberland, which he named, and proceeded to the headwaters of the Kentucky River.¹

The person who was destined to settle permanently in Kentucky and to establish there a community was Daniel Boone. He himself stated that he "was ordained by God to settle the wilderness." He had heard about this territory from a stray hunter and Indian trader, John Finley by name. On May 1, 1769, he left his home on the Yadkin River in North Carolina and his purpose was "to wander through the wilderness of America in quest of Kentucky."²

The first distinct effort at colonization was made by James Harrod, near Louisville, in 1774, and this was soon followed by many settlements, encouraged by Henderson and Company, who issued entry certificates of surveys for five hundred and sixty thousand acres of land. The colony came to be known as Transylvania. For a short period a sort of hegemony was established. Delegates were assembled at Boonesborough at the call of Colonel Henderson. The representatives of this parliament drew up certain laws for the government of the territory and then adjourned, never to meet again. On account of precarious titles the seventeen million acres now comprising the colony of Transylvania became involved in litigation. Then the governor of North Carolina declared the purchases and sales of this land illegal. Later the Virginia Assembly compromised with the proprietors, but disintegration of the settlements was already in progress.³

¹ See *Dr. Thomas Walker's Journal of 1750* (in *Johnston's First Explorations of Kentucky*, Louisville, J. P. Morton, 1898).

² Filson, John: *Beginnings of Kentucky* (1775) from Filson's *Daniel Boone* (see *Northwestern Leaflets* No. 6). John Filson, Kentucky's first historian, published in substance the journals of the pioneer settler entitled: *The Adventures of Colonel Daniel Boone, formerly a hunter*.

³ Shaler, Nathaniel S.: *Kentucky* (*American Commonwealth Series*) Chapters 5-7.

As soon as the conflicting territorial claims of the different Atlantic seaboard states had been settled, and much of the disputed land had been ceded to the United States, the Kentucky people became strongly impressed with the necessity of a government for the rapidly growing settlements, the interests of which at times were very much at variance with the ultra-montane people of Virginia, for Kentucky was at the time of the American Revolution a county of that state.

A contemporary account (1786) of this territory by a gentleman who resided there for many years, will give an accurate description of the land and its resources, as well as certain curious facts and observations regarding prehistoric times:

“The Kentucky country is subject to and is part of the western extremity of the State of Virginia; is bounded by the river Ohio (which divides it from the land yet possessed by the savages, and by Virginia ceded to Congress) on the northwest; by a small river called the Great Sandy which divides it from Montgomery on the northeast (Montgomery county begins in the eastern district of Virginia, and extending for many miles through a mountainous uninhabited country, strikes the Great Sandy and then running down it to its junction with the Ohio); by the Cumberland mountains on the southeast, and the line which divides Virginia and North Carolina (and which runs a due west course, striking the Mississippi about seventeen miles below the mouth of the Ohio) on the south.

“The extent of this country from northeast to southwest, running with the meanders of the Ohio, whose general bearing is about southwest and by west, cannot be less than between six and seven hundred miles, and in width, from the Ohio to the Cumberland mountains, upwards of two hundred and fifty.

“The principal rivers are the Ohio, Kentucky, Green River, Salt River, Licking, Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. Pittsburg stands in the forks of the Monengalia and the Alligania, which are the most eastern and northern branches composing the Ohio, at the junction of which they obtain the common name of Ohio.

“The falls or rapids of the river are in 38 deg. 30 min., are navigable for vessels of moderate burthen—are about a mile in length, and said to be about six hundred and eighty miles below Pittsburg, and about four hundred miles above the Ohio's junction with the Mississippi, and, except this small obstruction, glides with a gentle current from its formation to its mouth, and, as well as the other rivers of this country, abounds with excellent fish.

“Besides a number of others in the interior parts of the country, there are three towns established at the Falls—one on the northwest or Indian side, called Clarksville; the other two are on the southwest, or Virginia; one just below the Falls called Campbells-Town, the other just above, called Louisville; the latter is the most ancient and populous, and was formerly almost the only landing place used

in the country; but for a year of two past several others nearly vie with it, particularly a place called the Mouth of Limestone, near the upper extreme of the district.

"The Kentucky river, which gives name to the country, and in the Indian language signifies bloody, is navigable, excepting the dry seasons, taking its meander-measure for upwards of two hundred miles—it is lost in the Ohio about seventy miles above the falls.

"The Green River, which at present is the southern limits of the Kentucky settlements, is of nearly the dimensions with the Kentucky. It meets the Ohio about two hundred miles below the falls.

Salt River is navigable in the wet season eighty miles, and puts into the Ohio twenty miles below the falls.

"Licking is the least considerable river in the country, but it is navigable for nearly the same distance with the Salt River, and empties into the Ohio about one hundred and seventy miles above the falls.

"The Cumberland River heads in the mountains of that names already mentioned, and, taking a circuitous course southwestwardly, visits North Carolina, and thence running northwestwardly, re-enters Virginia, and meets the Ohio about sixty miles above the junction of the latter with the Mississippi.

"The Tennessee or Cherokee is a river nearly as large as the Ohio, takes its rise from several sources in Virginia and North Carolina, and, sweeping a large extent of fertile country, generally in a southwestwardly course, passing through Carolina, visits Georgia, and thence bending northwestwardly, is blended with the Ohio about twelve miles below the mouth of the Cumberland.

"The country at present consists of seven counties, viz., Jefferson, Fayette, Lincoln, Nelson, Mercer, Bourbon, and Maddeson; and, with the rest of the counties of Virginia, send two members each to the General Assembly at Richmond. The county courts in this, as in every other part of the state, are held monthly, and as the magistrates execute their office gratis, the administration of justice in this country is exceedingly cheap.

"In the year 1782 it was erected into a separate district, when a General, or Supreme Court, was granted it, vested with every power in the Kentucky district which the General Court has in the eastern part of the state.

"The country being already populous, and daily increasing in numbers, an application was made to the Legislature at the last session to have the Kentucky district erected into a separate state. In consequence of which, an act was passed for the purpose; but as this act lays the district under some restrictions, perhaps not altogether consistent with the genius of a free people, it is rather probable the inhabitants will decline the proposed separation for the present.

"The Presbyterian and Baptist denominations at present are the most numerous sects of religion in this country, and our correspondent is happy to say that those churches are generally supplied with pious, animated and rational pastors.

“A college is also established in Kentucky by act of Assembly on the most liberal principles. It is called Transylvania Seminary, and is already endowed with about 10,000 acres of the first land in that country.

As this country is very exclusive, so its soil is very various. The lands through which the Kentucky, Licking, and some of the branches of the Salt river run, generally speaking, exceed description. Its soil is eighteen inches to several feet deep, of a dark, chocolate color, and excels the jet black in fertility. Besides the kind already described, there are no less than four or five classes in the district of an inferior quality, and the eastern and southeastern parts of it are little less than a collection of mountains for near two hundred miles in length and one hundred miles in breadth. The western and southwestern extreme is greatly injured by sunken grounds; and some parts of the country will, for many years, be rendered in some measure useless for want of timber.

“After being reduced with a few crops of Indian corn, hemp, or oats, the soil seems very natural for wheat, which has been raised, in a dry season, to weigh sixty-three pounds per bushel. Excepting the parts just described, it is generally a high, level and healthy country. A circumstance peculiar to it is, that the farther from the rivers, the better the land. The intervals, or river bottoms, are mostly contracted, and but of the second quality in point of soil.

“The principal timbers are black and white walnut, wild cherry tree, locust, of which there are two species, white ash, and two other kinds peculiar to this country, oaks of all sorts known in colder climates, mulberry in great abundance, and the mirtle or sugar tree is very plentiful and grows to an uncommon size. The underwood is principally spicewood and pawpaw, or wild cucumber; the latter bears a fruit not unlike a cucumber in shape, but very lucious to the smell and taste.

“The country abounds in many kinds of excellent wild grass, and, although English grass is not a native, yet it flourishes amazingly when once introduced. What is called the foul-meadow grass, and the cane of which weavers’ reeds are composed, both grow spontaneously here; the latter continuing green all the year, affords an excellent winter food for stock.

“Iron ore in sufficient quantities, and of good quality, is found in the more broken parts of the country.

“Its exemption from stone on the surface, while it affords the greatest abundance for all the purposes of domestic use, is a peculiarity of this country deserving of notice. The country, especially the interior parts of it, lies on a limestone quarry extremely well calculated both as to shape and situation for building.

“The number of old forts found in this country are the admiration of the curious, and affords matter of much speculation. They are mostly of a circular form, situated on well chosen ground, and contiguous to water. When, by whom, and indeed for what purpose these were thrown up is uncertain. They are certainly very ancient; there is not the least difference in the age or size of the timber grow-

ing within these forts and that which grows without, and the oldest natives here have lost all tradition respecting them. They must have been the efforts of a people much more devoted to manual labor than our present race of Indians; and it is difficult to conceive how they could have been constructed without the use of iron tools. At a convenient distance from these, there always stands a small mound of earth, thrown up in the form of a pyramid, and seems in some measure proportioned to the size of the adjacent fortifications. Upon examination they have been found to contain a large quantity of bones, and supposed to be of the human kind.

"The Salt Springs, by the inhabitants called Salt Licks, with which this country are so amply supplied, are displays of that munificence with which Heaven has distributed its bounties through this lower creation. Had it not been for the supply of salt these afforded, and the wild meat of which it was amply furnished, this country could not have been settled during the scarcity of that article.

"The most noted of these Licks are, Bullet's Lick, Dummin's Lick, the upper and lower Blue Lick (the former of which discharges a quantity of salt water nearly sufficient to drive a mill), and the Great Bone Lick. This last mentioned takes its name from a number of bones of uncommon size, supposed to be elephants bones, in it.

"To give a minute description of these Salt Licks, their number fullness, and the many philosophic conjectures respecting the origin of their saline particles, not to mention the many opinions respecting the bones found in the last mentioned one, would be a detail too lengthy for a newspaper.

"These springs afford water sufficient to supply the whole western country with salt. It is now commonly sold in Kentucky from eight to twelve shillings the bushel, but may be made for half that sum.

"The petrifying qualities of the waters of the Ohio, especially at the falls, may be justly ranked amongst the curiosities of the country. The rock on which the river runs had once been a soft yielding clay, as in many parts of it may be seen the roots of trees, nuts, and other kinds of vegetables turned into stone, and which now adhere to, and are become a part of the rock.

"The healthfulness and temperature of the Kentucky climate—the exuberance of its soil—the enchanting beauties of its surface, especially in the vernal season,—are to the inhabitants of the Northern states real curiosities, and would transcend the belief of the less credulous."

Another letter, dated August 12, 1786, from a gentleman in Connecticut to some friend in Massachusetts verifies the observations stated above:

"General Parsons, who some time since went to treat with the Indians, has lately returned, and informed me that from what discoveries he has made near the Ohio, he is confident America, some ages past, must have been inhabited by some civilized nation, who

were acquainted with the arts, for in digging the trenches of a new fort, constructed on the Ohio, six hundred miles west of Fort Pitt, which is on the backpost of Pennsylvania, they came on brick work regularly laid, and found many sound bricks;—they also found the ruins of a town, and of a prodigious pyramid formed by art, designed, as he supposed, either for a place of worship, or for the burial of their dead, which has lain in ruins so long that he could perceive that there had been three growths of wood in it successively; and judges by every appearance that the latest works that appear were done at least six hundred years ago. He then dug up part of the jaw bone of an animal with three teeth in it, which three teeth as they lay in the jaw, took the space of two feet; these he brought home with him; one weighs five pounds. He measured a thigh bone, which he also found, which was four feet nine inches long. The oldest Indian has no knowledge of the animal; but they have a tradition that once a great beast was there who drowned all the deer and the bears, and that the Great Being killed him with lightning in compassion to them, as nothing else could do it.”⁴

An excerpt of a letter from a gentleman in the western country to a friend in New Haven, dated Fort Fenney, near the Miami, December 22, 1785, adds a few facts that will give us an appreciation of the wonderful growth of the settlements within a decade of years:

“The population of the country of Kentucky will amaze you; in June 1779, the whole number of inhabitants amounted to one hundred and seventy-six only, and now they exceed thirty thousand. I have now been thirty-nine days at this post, and there have passed thirty-four boats for the falls, and not more than one-third of the boats

“Filson, in his History of Kentucky, says: “What this animal is and by what means its ruins are found in Tartary and in America are questions of very difficult decision. The bones bear a great resemblance to those of the elephant, but whence is it that these bones are found in climates where an elephant, a native of the torrid zone, cannot even subsist in his wild state, and in a state of servitude will not propagate? These are difficulties sufficient to stagger credulity itself and at length produced the inquiries of Doctor Hunter. That celebrated anatomist discovered a considerable difference between the shape and structure of the bones, and those of the elephant. He observed, from the form of the teeth, that they must have belonged to a carnivorous animal; whereas the habits of the elephant are foreign to such sustenance, and his jaws totally unprovided with all the teeth necessary for its use. And from the whole, he concluded, to the satisfaction of naturalists, that these bones belonged to a quadruped now unknown, and whose race is probably extinct, unless it may be found in the extensive continent of New Holland, whose recesses have not yet been pervaded by the curiosity or avidity of civilized man. Can then so great a link have perished from the chain of nature? Happy we that it has. How formidable an enemy to the human species, an animal as large as an elephant, the tyrant of the forests, perhaps the devourer of man. Nations, such as the Indians, must have been in perpetual alarm. The animosities among the various tribes must have stopped till the common enemy, who threatened the very existence of all, should be extirpated. To this circumstance we are probably indebted for a fact, which is perhaps singular in its kind, the extinction of a whole race of animals from the system of nature.”

which come to this country with settlers go as far down as this place. It is a moderate computation to number ten to a boat; this gives an addition of one thousand at least in the last forty days, and I am informed that one-half the settlers came through the wilderness from Virginia. I have not a doubt but three thousand men in arms might be paraded at this place in twelve days if necessary.

"It will be as practicable to turn a torrent of water backward, as to prevent the amazing emigration to this country; and, like the general collection at the last day, they are of all nations, tongues, and languages, from China, from all parts of Europe, from our own country, and every part of America they are gathered.

"The whole of that country is located, some of eight of ten locations upon each other, that whoever purchases there, is sure to purchase a lawsuit, and a very uncertain title.

"The principal settlement is Lexington, seventy miles southeast from this post. Louisville, at the falls of the Ohio, consists of about one hundred buildings, in three parallel streets, in an oblique direction to the river; it is a beautiful location, having the falls in front, and a view of the river in its course from the upper country. On the northwest side of the falls, the earth, or waters issuing through it, possess a petrifying quality beyond what I have seen at any other place; fish, birds, roots, vegetables, etc., are petrified and adhere to the flat rocks on the bottom, many of which we have gathered.

* * * * *

"From every observation I can make I have not a doubt this country will be very speedily settled, and very great advantages may be made by those who are early in their adventures and speculations; and I have no more doubt that the United States will lose all the benefit they expect to derive from it, unless some more expeditious method for opening the settlement on this side of the river should be speedily adopted."

With this rapid growth of population and the development of natural resources and trade, the Kentucky settlers yearned for separation from Virginia. The specific reasons that prompted this action was drawn up by a committee appointed for the purpose during the last State convention:

"Your committee having maturely considered the important subject to them referred are of the opinion that the situation of this district, upwards of five hundred miles from the present seat of government, with the intervention of a mountainous desert of two hundred miles, passable only at particular seasons, and never without danger from hostile nations of savages, precludes every idea of a connection of Republican principles, and originates many grievances, among which we reckon the following:

1st. It destroys every possibility of application to supreme executive power for support and protection in cases of emergency, and thereby subjects the district to continue (sic) hostilities and depre-

dations of the savages; relaxes the execution of the laws, delays justice, and tends to loosen and dis sever the bonds of government.

2nd. It suspends the operation of the benign influence of mercy, by subjecting condemned persons, who may be deemed worthy of pardon to tedious, languishing, and destructive imprisonment.

3rd It renders difficult and precarious the exercise of the first and dearest right of freeman—adequate representation—as no person properly qualified, can be expected at the hazard of his life to undergo the fatigue of long journeys, and to incur burthensome expenses, by devoting himself to the public service.

4th. It subjects us to penalties and inflictions which arise from ignorance of the laws, many of which have their operation, and expire before they reach the district.

5th. It renders a compliance with many of the duties required by sheriffs and clerks impracticable, and exposes those officers, under the present revenue law, to inevitable destruction.

6th. It subjects the inhabitants to expensive and ruinous suits in the high court of appeals, and places the unfortunate poor, and the men of mediocrity completely in the power of the opulent.”

“Other grievances result from partial and retrospective laws, which are contrary to fundamental principles of free governments, and subversive of the inherent rights of freemen. Such are for instance:

1st. The laws for the establishment and support of the district court, which at the same time that we are subjected to a general tax for the support of the civil list, and the erection of public buildings obliges us to build our own court-house, jail, and other buildings, by a special poll-tax imposed on the inhabitants of the district, and leaves several officers of the courts without any certain provision.

2nd. The law imposing a tax of five shillings per hundred acres on lands previously sold, and directing payment thereof into the Registrar’s office at Richmond before the patent shall issue; the same principles which sanctify this law, would authorize the legislation to impose five pounds per acre on lands previously sold by government on stipulated conditions, and for which an equivalent hath been paid; and is equally subversive of justice as any of the statutes of the British parliament, that impelled the good people of America to arms.

3rd. General laws, partial and injurious in their operations, such are the laws: 1st., concerning entries and surveys on the western waters; 2nd., concerning the appointments of sheriffs; 3rd., for punishing certain offences injurious to the tranquility of this commonwealth: which last law prohibits us, whilst we experience all the calamities which flow from the predatory incursions of hostile savages; from attempting any offensive operation; a savage unrestrained by any law, human or divine, despoils our property, murders of fellow citizens, then makes his escape to the northwest side of the Ohio, and is protected by this law.

“Whereas, All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural inherent, and inalienable rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring possession, and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

“Resolved, therefore, That it is the indispensable duty of this convention, as they regard the prosperity and happiness of their constituents, themselves and posterity, to make application to the general assembly, at the ensuing session, for an act to separate this district from the present government forever, on terms honorable to both, and injurious to neither: in order that it may enjoy all the advantages, privileges, and immunities of a free and sovereign and independent republic. Unanimously agreed to.”

The necessity of a separate government to meet the exigencies of the times and as clearly expressed in this application for statehood were fully justified by the happenings, especially the exasperating attacks of the savages even in the face of solemn treaty obligations with most of the tribes. A letter from Nashville, on the Cumberland River, dated May 28, 1785, states:

“The inhabitants of the west country who live remote from this settlement, have lately been greatly alarmed by the Indians. Many white men have been killed within the last four weeks by the savages. All of the murders, so far as I can learn, have been committed by the Cherokees, and most of them, I believe, by the rascally tribe called the Chickemagoes. Since the late war there have been several instances of a careless traveler or hunter being killed by the Indians, but those instances were single and detached. Of late the murders are frequent, and three or four persons have been killed in company. Such are the consequences of the late treaty of peace with the Indians. Are we to believe that peace was made for the purpose of bringing about a general war? Strange stories are circulated concerning the treaty. It is said that the commissioner encouraged the Indians to take the land which they formerly sold.

“It is said that they have given up the very path that leads to this country with hopes of preventing people from coming to settle on the waters of the Cumberland River. Also that after the commissioners had flattered the Indians with the hope of large presents, some of the Chickemagoes were sent home greatly exasperated, without a single match coat. We do not think that the commissioners intended to make war, but they have occasioned it, and everybody here expects that Congress, or such commissioners as they may appoint, will contrive to put out the fire which they have kindled and leave us at least in as good a state as they found us. As to the plan of preventing this country from being settled, it cannot succeed. We have the most fertile soil on the face of the earth; the water is good and the climate is healthy; and this country was certainly intended by heaven to give subsistence to a great number of people, and

neither the devil or his emissaries will be able to prevent it. We have fairly bought our land from the State, or obtained it by military service, and we will not readily part with it. We are already too strong in the settlement to apprehend anything dangerous from the Indians, and people are daily coming in to settle amongst us; and if Congress, of the State to which we belong, does not find means to quiet the Chickemagoes, we shall do it ourselves; we had rather the sovereign should draw the sword, when it is to be drawn. In the meanwhile we shall try to exercise patience."

The situation of the settlers grew from bad to worse. The attacks of the Indians became more daring and more numerous. A letter from Colonel James Perry of Nelson County, Kentucky, dated April 20, 1788, to the Reverend Jordan Hodge of Sturbridge, in Massachusetts, gives a tragic story:

"On the first of April a number of Indians surrounded the house of one John Merrill, which was discovered by the barking of a dog. Merrill stepped to the door to see what he could discover, and received three musket balls which caused him to fall back into the house with a broken leg and arm; the Indians rushed the door, but it being immediately fastened by his wife, who stood against it, with a girl of about fifteen years of age, the Indians could not immediately open it. The Indians broke one part of the door, and one of them crowded partly through; the heroic mother, in the midst of her screaming children and groaning husband, seized an axe and gave a fatal blow to the savage, and he falling headlong into the house, the others supposed they had obtained their end, rushed after him, until four of them fell in like manner before they discovered their mistake; the rest retreated, which gave opportunity again to secure the door. The conquerors rejoiced in their victory; but their expectations were soon dashed by finding the door again attacked, which the bold mother endeavored once more to secure, with the assistance of the young woman; their fears now came on them like a flood; they soon heard a noise on the top of the house, and then found that the Indians were coming down the chimney; all hopes of deliverance were now at an end, but the wounded man ordered his children to tumble a couch that was filled with hair and feathers on the fire which made such a smother that two lusty Indians came tumbling down the chimney; the wounded man, exerting every faculty in this critical moment, seized a billet of wood, with which he conquered the smothering Indians; at the same instant the woman aimed a blow at the savage at the door, but not with the effect as to the rest, but which caused him to retreat; they again secured the door as fast as possible, and rejoiced at their deliverance, but not without fear of a third attack; they carefully watched with their new family until morning and they were not again disturbed."

To the encroachment of settlers themselves on the domains of the Indian tribes may be ascribed in part at least those intermittent war-

fares which were the scourge of these outposts of civilization. In Kentucky especially the settlements were older but not as well regulated as north of the Ohio River. The Occupying Claimant Law passed by Virginia, gave to the pioneers of Kentucky certain liberties to survey their own tracts and here arose counter-claims. The enmity of all of the tribes in the midwest, both north and south of the Ohio, was becoming more and more manifest. A letter from a gentleman in Washington county dated June 10, 1788, shows that the Indian outbreak was already in progress. He writes as follows:

“Unhappily an Indian war is broke out, which brings direful consequences to the frontiers. The fault, however, is on the side of the whites. Our people were still within a small distance of the Cherokee towns, and still kept encroaching a fine body of land lying about the towns which our people could not well come at without picking a quarrel with the Indians, and there being some people killed and some horses stolen (which, from the best information, was done by the Creeks), General Martin, who is superintendent of Indian affairs for the state, was sent to their towns to know whether they were the transgressors, but our people had not the patience to wait the issue, but fired on the town while he was in it. He laid the blame to some headstrong young men, and got them pretty well quieted and they resumed their business; but shortly after they again fired on the town, killed and old squaw and wounded others—upon which the General was made a prisoner and charged with deceiving them, but as he was a gentleman of excellent address, he found means to persuade them of his innocence, and they let him go, but told him that had any of their men been killed, his life must have gone for theirs. This I have found from the General, with whom I am intimate. He showed me letters he had received from a certain M’Gilvery, chief of the Creeks, who is a high fellow, writes sensibly, is half-blood and has had a liberal education. He is the son of a Scotchman. He informs the General that he has buried the red hatchet as to the settlements of the Cumberland, having satisfactorily retaliated for some of his people who were killed at a French store near Muscle Shoals—

“But to return to the Cherokees, they left that town which the whites had approached so near, and burned it; upon which Governor Suvere embodied about one hundred men and went to one of their principal towns, completely surprised them and, from different accounts, killed upwards of forty men, besides squaws and children, and burned their towns, and proceeded from thence to another town and destroyed it.

“Several of their chiefs fell, viz: the Hinging Maw, the Turel, etc.; several fled to their council house, and were burned; others took the river and were shot, so that they were completely defeated, and he is now returned without the loss of a man, killed or wounded. He is shortly to set out against the Chickemagoe towns. This information I believe you may depend on, as I have been particular in collecting

it from several who are just from thence. And there is an expedition of one thousand men under General Martin to go immediately against them after harvest. From a number of gentlemen from Kentucky we learn they have had very troublesome times with the Indians; a company was fired on while going through the wilderness lately, but no damage was done."

Kentucky was the first new state to be received into the Union under the new Constitution. Several attempts of the legislature of Virginia to postpone the separation had proved successful. An act concerning the erection of the district of Kentucky into an independent state, one of the earliest on record (January, 1786) was printed in the *Virginia Gazette*, and is here given in its entirety an account of its documentary value:

"Whereas it is represented to be the desire of the good people inhabiting the district known by the name of Kentucky district, that the same should be separated from this Commonwealth, whereof it is in part, and to be formed into independent members of the American confederacy, and it is judged by the General Assembly that such a petition of the Commonwealth is rendered expedient by the remoteness of the more fertile, which must be the more populous part of the said district, and by the interjacent natural impediments to a convenient and regular communication therewith.

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly that in the month of August next, on the respective court days of the counties within the said district, and at the respective places of holding courts therein, representatives to continue in appointment for one year, and to compose a convention with the powers and for the purposes hereinafter mentioned, shall be elected by the free male inhabitants of each county in like manner as Delegates to the General Assembly have been elected within the said district, in the proportions following: In the county of Jefferson shall be elected five Representatives; in the county of Nelson, five Representatives; in the county of Fayette, five Representatives; in the county of Bourbon, five Representatives; in the county of Lincoln, five Representatives; in the county of Madison, five Representatives, and in the County of Mercer, five Representatives. That full opportunity may be given to the good people of exercising their right of suffrage on an occasion so interesting to them, each of the officers holding such elections shall continue the same from day to day, passing over Sunday, for five days, including the first day; shall cause this act to be read on each day, immediately preceding the opening of the election, at the door of the Court House or other convenient place, and shall fix up two copies, at least, of this act in the most public situations at the place of election, twenty days before the commencement thereof. Each of the said officers shall deliver to each person duly elected a Representative, a certificate of his election, and shall moreover transmit a general return to the Clerk of the Supreme Court

of the District, to be by him laid before the Convention. For every neglect of any of the duties hereby enjoined on such officer, he shall forfeit one hundred pounds, to be recovered by action of debt, by any person suing for the same. The said convention shall be held at Danville, on the fourth Monday of September, and as soon as two-thirds of the Representatives shall be convinced, they shall and may proceed, after choosing a President and other proper officers, and settling the proper rule of proceeding to consider, and by a majority of voices, to determine whether it be expedient for, and be the will of the good people of the said district, that the same be erected into an independent state, on the terms and conditions following:

“First: That the boundary between the proposed state and Virginia shall remain the same as at present separates the district from the residue of the commonwealth.

“Second: That the proposed state shall take upon itself a just proportion of the public debt of this Commonwealth.

“Third: That all private rights and interests in lands within the said district, derived from the laws of Virginia, prior to such separation, shall remain valid and secure under the laws of the proposed state, and shall be determined by the laws now existing in this state.

“Fourth: That the lands within the proposed state of non-resident proprietors, shall not in any case be taxed higher than the lands of residents at any time prior to the admission of the proposed state to a vote by its delegates in Congress, where such non-residents reside out of the United States; nor at any time either before or after such admission, where such non-residents reside within this Commonwealth, within which this stipulation shall be reciprocal, or where such non-residents reside within any other of the United States which shall declare the same to be reciprocal within its limits; nor shall a neglect of cultivation or improvement of any land within either the proposed state or this Commonwealth, belonging to non-residents, citizens of the other, subject such non-residents to forfeiture or penalty, within the term of six years after the admission of the state into the federal union.

“Fifth: That no grant land, nor land warrant to be issued by the proposed state, shall interfere with any warrant heretofore issued from the Land Office of Virginia, which shall be located on land within the said district now liable thereto, on or before the first day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

“Sixth: That the unlocated lands within the said district which stand appropriated by the laws of this Commonwealth to individuals or descriptions of individuals, for military or other services, shall be exempt from the disposition of the proposed state, and shall remain subject to be disposed of by the Commonwealth of Virginia, according to such appropriation, until the first day of September, one thousand, seven hundred and eighty-eight, and no longer; and thereafter the residue of all lands remaining within the limits of the said district shall be subject to the disposition of the proposed state.

“Seventh: That the use and navigation of the river Ohio, so far as the territory of the proposed state, or the territory which shall

remain within the limits of this Commonwealth, lies thereon, shall be free and common to the citizens of the United States, and the respective jurisdictions of the Commonwealth and of the proposed state, on the river as aforehand, shall be concurrent only with the states which may possess the opposite shores of the said river.

“Eighth: That in case any complaint or dispute shall at any time arise between the Commonwealth of Virginia and the said district (after it shall be an independent state), concerning the meaning or execution of the foregoing articles, the same shall be determined by six Commissioners, of whom two shall be chosen by each of the parties, and the remainder by the Commissioners, so first appointed.

“And be it further enacted, that if the said Convention shall approve of an erection of the said district into an independent state, on the foregoing terms and conditions, they shall and may proceed to fix a day, posterior to the first day of September, one thousand seven hundred eighty-seven, on which the authority of this Commonwealth, and of its laws under the exceptions aforesaid, shall cease and determine forever, over the proposed state, and the said articles become a solemn compact, mutually binding on the parties, and unalterable by either without the consent of the other.

“Provided, however, that prior to the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, the United States in Congress shall assent to the erection of the said District into an Independent State, shall release this Commonwealth from all of its federal obligations arising from the said district, as being part thereof; and shall agree that the proposed state shall immediately after the day to be fixed as aforesaid, posterior to the first day of September, one thousand seven hundred eighty-seven, or at some convenient time future thereto, be admitted into the federal Union. And to the end that no period of anarchy may happen to the good people of the proposed state, it is to be understood that the said Convention shall have authority to take the necessary provisional measures for the election and meeting of a Convention at some time prior to the day fixed for the determination of the authority of this Commonwealth, and of its laws over the said district, and posterior to the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred eighty-seven, aforesaid with full power and authority to frame and establish a fundamental constitution of government for the proposed state, and to declare what laws shall be in force therein, until the same shall be abrogated or altered by the Legislative authority, acting under the constitution, so to be framed and established.

“This act shall be transmitted by the Executive of the Delegates representing the Commonwealth in Congress, who are hereby instructed to use their endeavors to obtain from Congress a speedy act to the effect above specified.”

On three separate occasions were instruments of this nature presented to the Virginia Assembly, and finally in the last days of the Continental Congress that State reluctantly consented to the forma-

tion of the new Commonwealth of Kentucky as part of the Confederacy. The application was passed on to the new government about to be formed. All this work went for nothing, and a new convention was called in 1790 which unanimously voted for separation. A fifth convention was called on June 1, 1792, to frame a state Constitution, but Congress on February 4, 1791, anticipating this date, passed a bill admitting Kentucky into the Union. This Commonwealth had therefore the unique distinction of receiving statehood before the organic law regulating its powers had been inspected and sanctioned by the Federal government.

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[NOTE.—The documents in this article are taken from letters and other authoritative information appearing in the newspapers of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and their vicinities between the years 1784-1789. See fuller note as to origin in the January issue of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 3.]

ILLINOIS: THE CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION IN MID-AMERICA

(Continued from October, 1927)

CHAPTER V

ESTABLISHMENT OF A GOVERNMENT—TONTI—GOVERNOR

What happened concerning Tonti and the Recollect Fathers and Frenchmen who remained after La Salle and Hennepin departed is well told by Tonti and Father Membre.

Tonti's account is contained in a letter which he sent to the Count de Pontchartrain in 1693. Tonti says that La Salle:

"Having determined to go himself by land to Fort Frontenac because he had heard nothing of the bark which he had sent to Niagara, he gave me the command of this place and left us on the 2nd of March with five men."

Thus was the first Governor of Illinois commissioned, whose auspicious administration extended over a period of almost twenty years.

La Salle had sent back two men to inquire about the fate of his cargo, and upon their return they met him and told him nothing could be learned of the boat. He therefore determined to continue his journey and sent orders by them to Tonti to go to the old village, that is, the village of the Kaskaskias, where Father Marquette established the mission, "to visit the rock and to build a strong fort upon it" (Ib., p. 290).

The fate of the fort at Peoria is thus briefly related by Tonti:

"Whilst I was absent, all my men deserted. They took away everything that was finest and most valuable and left me with two Recollects and three Frenchmen newly arrived from France, stripped of everything and at the mercy of the savages."²

Tonti drew up an authentic account of the affair and sent it to La Salle and states that La Salle lay in wait for the deserters on Lake Frontenac (Ontario), "took some of them and killed others" (Ib., p. 290).

It is fortunate that where Father Hennepin leaves off with the narrative concerning the happenings at Fort Crevecoeur, Father Zenobe Membre begins. Thus we have a quite complete report of all

¹ Kellog's *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, p. 290.

² Ib., p. 200.

that transpired at this historic spot in that very early day. Father Membre says:

“Father Louis, having set out on the 29th of February, 1680, the *Sieur de La Salle* left the *Sieur de Tonti* as commander of Fort Crevecoeur, with ammunition and provisions and peltries to pay the workmen as agreed, and merchandise to trade with and provisions as we needed them, and having lastly given orders as to what was to be done in his absence, set out with four Frenchmen and an Indian on the 2nd of March, 1680. He arrived on the 11th at the great Illinois village where I then was, and thence, after twenty-four hours stay, he continued his route on foot over the ice to Fort Frontenac.

“From our arrival at Fort Crevecoeur, on the 14th of January past, Father Gabriel, our superior, Father Louis and myself had raised a cabin, in which we had established some little regularity, exercising our functions as missionaries to the French of our party and the Illinois Indians, who came in crowds.

“As by the end of February I already knew a part of their language, because I spent the whole of the day in the Indian camp, which was but half a league off, our father superior appointed me to follow when they were about to return to their village. A chief named Oumahouha had adopted me as his son in the Indian fashion, and M. de La Salle had made him presents to take care of me.

“Father Gabriel resolved to stay at the fort with the *Sieur de Tonti* and the workmen. This had been too the request of the *Sieur de La Salle*, who hoped that by his credit and the apparent confidence of the people in him he would be able to keep them in order; but God permitted that the good intentions in which the *Sieur de La Salle* thought he left them should not last long. On the 13th he himself had met two of his men whom he had sent to Missilimakinak to meet his vessel, but who had got no tidings of it. He addressed them to the *Sieur de Tonti*, but these evil-disposed men caballed so well that they excited suspicion and dissatisfaction in most of those there, so that almost all deserted, carrying off the ammunition, provisions and all that was in store. Two of them who were conducting Father Gabriel to the Illinois village, where M. de Tonti had come on a visit, abandoned the good father at night in the middle of the road and spiked the guns of the *Sieur de Boisrondet* and the man called Lesperance, who were in the same canoe, but not in their plot. They informed the *Sieur de Tonti*, who, finding himself destitute of everything, sent four of those who remained by two different routes to inform the *Sieur de La Salle*.

“The perfidious wretches assembled at the fort which the *Sieur de La Salle* had built at the mouth of Myamis' River, demolished the fort, carried off all that was there and, as we learned some months after, went to Missilimakinak, where they seized the peltries belonging to the *Sieur de La Salle* and left in store there by him.

“The only great Illinois village being composed of seven or eight thousand souls, Father Gabriel and I had a sufficient field for the

exercises of our zeal, besides the few French who soon after came there. There are, moreover, the Miamis, situated southeast by south of the bottom of the Lake Dauphin, on the borders of a pretty fine river, about fifteen leagues inland at 41 degrees north, on the banks of the river called Mellecki (Milwaukee), which empties into Lake Dauphin, very near their village; on the western side of the Kikapous and the Ainoves (Iowas), who form two villages; west of these last, above the River Checagoumémant, the village of the Illinois Cascaskia (Kaskaskia), situated west of the bottom of Lake Dauphin, a little southwest at about 31 degrees north; the Anthoutantas (Ottoes) and Maskoutens, Nadouessions, and about one hundred and thirty leagues from the Illinois, in three great villages built near a river which empties into the River Colbert on the west side, above that of the Illinois, almost opposite the mouth of the Miskonsing (Wisconsin), in the same river. I might name here a number of other tribes with whom we had intercourse, and to whom French *coureur-de-bois*, or lawfully sent, rambled while I was with the Illinois, under favor of our discovery.

“The greater part of these tribes, and especially the Illinois, with whom I have had intercourse, make their cabins of double mats of flat rushes sewed together. They are tall of stature, strong and robust, and good archers; they had as yet no firearms; we gave them some. They are wandering, idle, fearful, and desolate, almost without respect for their chiefs, irritable and thievish. Their villages are not enclosed with palisades, and being too cowardly to defend them, they take to flight at the first news of a hostile army. The richness and fertility of the country gives them fields everywhere. They used iron implements and arms only since our arrival. Besides the bow, they use in war a kind of short pike and wooden maces. Hermaphrodites are numerous. They have many wives, and often take several sisters that they may agree better; and yet they are so jealous that they cut off their noses on the slightest suspicion. They are lewd, and even unnaturally so, having boys dressed as women, destined for infamous purposes. These boys are employed only in women’s work, without taking part in the chase or war. They are very superstitious, although they have no religious worship. They are, besides, much given to play, like all the Indians in America that I am able to know.

“As there are in their country many serpents, these Indians know herbs much superior to *orvietan* and *Theriaque*, for, after rubbing themselves with them, they can without fear play with the most venomous insects, and even put them some distance down their throat. They go perfectly naked in summer, except the feet, which are covered with shoes of ox-hide, and in winter they protect themselves against the cold (which is piercing in these parts, though of short duration) with skins, which they dress and card very neatly.

“Although we were almost destitute of succor, yet the *Sieur de Tonti* never lost courage; he kept up his position among the Illinois either by inspiring them, with all the hopes which he built on the *Sieur de La Salle*’s return or by instructing them in the use of firearms and many arts in the European way. As during the following

summer a rumor ran that the Miamis wished to move and join the Iroquois, he taught them how to defend themselves by palisades, and even made them erect a kind of little fort with intrenchments, so that, had they had a little more courage, I have no doubt they would have been in a position to sustain themselves.³

“Meanwhile, from the flight and desertion of our men about the middle of March to the month of September, Father Gabriel and I devoted ourselves constantly to the mission. An Illinois named Asapista, with whom the Sieur de La Salle had contracted friendship, adopted Father Gabriel as his son, so that that good father found in his cabin a subsistence in the Indian fashion. As wine failed us for the celebration of the divine mysterious, we found means, toward the close of August, to get wild grapes which began to ripen, and we made very good wine, which served us to say mass till the second disaster, which happened a few days after. The clusters of these grapes are of prodigious size, of very agreeable taste, and having seeds larger than those of Europe.

“With regard to conversions, I cannot rely on any. During the whole time Father Gabriel unraveled their language a little, and I can say that I spoke so as to make myself understood by the Indians on all that I wished; but there is in these savages such an alienation from the faith, so brutal and narrow a mind, such corrupt and anti-Christian morals, that great time would be needed to hope for any fruit. It is, however, true that I found many of quite docile character. We baptized some dying children and two or three dying persons who manifested proper dispositions. As these people are entirely material in their ideas, they would have submitted to baptism, had we liked, but without any knowledge of the sacrament. We found two who had joined us and promised to follow us everywhere; we believed that they would keep their word and that by this means we would insure their baptisms; but I afterwards felt great scruples when I learned that an Indian named Chassagouache, who had been baptized, had died in the hands of the medicine men, abandoned to their superstitions, and consequently doubly a child of hell.

“During the summer we followed our Indians in their camps and to the chase. I also made a voyage to the Miamis to learn something of their dispositions; thence I went to visit other villages of the Illinois, all, however, with no great success, finding only cause for chagrin at the deplorable state and blindness of these nations. It is such that I cannot express it fully.”⁴

The Iroquois who were traditional enemies of the Illinois, came in September in force from the East to attack the Illinois. The stirring story of this first known war on Illinois soil is best told in Tonti's own language:

³ Cox, *Journeys of La Salle*, pp. 106-107.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 115-116.

“The Illinois were greatly alarmed at seeing a party of 600 Iroquois. It was then near the month of September. The desertion of our men and the journey of M. de La Salle to Fort Frontenac made the savages suspect that we were betraying them. They severely reproached me respecting the arrival of their enemies. As I was recently come from France and was not then acquainted with their manners, this embarrassed me and determined me to go to the enemy with necklaces to tell them that I was surprised they had come to make war upon a nation dependent on the Governor of New France, and that M. de La Salle, whom they esteemed, governed these peoples. An Illinois accompanied me, and we separated ourselves from the body of the Illinois, who were 400 in number and were already fighting with the enemy. When I was within gunshot the Iroquois fired a great volley at us, which compelled me to tell the Illinois to retire. He did so. When I had come up to them, these wretches seized me, took the necklace from my hand, and one of them, reaching through the crowd, plunged a knife into my breast, wounding a rib near the heart. However, having recognized me they carried me into the midst of their camp and asked me what I came for. I gave them to understand that the Illinois were under the protection of the King of France and of the Governor of the country, and that I was surprised that they wished to break with the French and to postpone peace.

“All this time skirmishing was going on on both sides, and a warrior came to give notice to the chief that their left wing was giving way, and that they had recognized some Frenchmen among the Illinois, who were shooting at them. On this they were greatly irritated against me and held a council concerning what they should do with me. There was a man behind me with a knife in his hand, who every now and then lifted up my hair. They were divided in opinion. Tegancouti, chief of the Tsonnontouan, wished positively to have me burnt. Agonstot, chief of the Onontagues, as a friend of M. de La Salle, wished to have me set at liberty. He carried his point. They agreed that, in order the better to deceive the Illinois, they should give me a necklace of porcelain beads to show to them that they also were children of the Governor, and that they all ought to unite and make a good peace.

“They sent me to deliver their message to the Illinois. I had much difficulty in reaching them on account of the great quantity of blood I had lost, both from my wound and from my mouth. On my way I met the Fathers Gabriel de la Libourde and Zenobe Membre, who were coming to look after me. They expressed their joy that these barbarians had not put me to death. We went together to the Illinois, to whom I reported the sentiments of the Iroquois, adding, however, that they must not altogether trust them. They retired within their village, but seeing the Iroquois present themselves always in battle array they felt obliged to rejoin their wives and children, three leagues off. They left us there, namely, the two Recollect Fathers, the three Frenchmen and myself.

“The Iroquois made a fort in the village and left us in a cabin at some distance from their fort. Two days later the Illinois, appearing on the hills near the Iroquois, the Iroquois thought that we had had some conference together, which led them to bring us inside their fort. They pressed me to go and find the Illinois and induce them to come and make a treaty of peace. They gave me one of their own nation as a hostage. I went with Father Zenobe. The Iroquois remained with the Illinois, and one of the latter came with me. When we get to the fort, instead of mending matters, he spoilt them entirely by saying to the enemy that they had in all only 400 men and that the rest of their young men were gone to war, and that if the Iroquois really wished to make peace with them they were ready to give them a quantity of beaver skins and some slaves which they had. The Iroquois called me to them and loaded me with reproaches; they told me that I was a liar to have said that the Illinois had 1,200 warriors, and several tribes of allies who had given them assistance. Where were the sixty Frenchmen who, I had told them, were at the village? I had much difficulty in getting out of the scrape.

“The same evening they sent back the Illinois to tell his nation to come the next day to within half a league of the fort and that they would there conclude the peace, which in fact was done at noon. The Illinois, having come to the meeting-place, the Iroquois gave them presents of necklaces and merchandise. The first necklace signified that the Governor of New France was not angry at their having come to molest their brothers; the second was addressed to M. de La Salle with the same meaning, and by the third, accompanied with merchandise, they bound themselves by oath to a strict alliance, that hereafter they should live as brothers. They then separated and the Illinois believed, after these presents, in the sincerity of the peace, which induced them to come several times into the fort of the enemies, where, some Illinois chiefs having asked me what I thought, I told them they had everything to fear, that there was among these barbarians no good faith, and that I knew that they were making canoes of elm bark and that consequently they were intending to pursue them, and that they should take advantage of the time and retire to some distant nation, for they were most assuredly betrayed.

“The eighth day after their arrival, on the 10th, of September, they called me and Father Zenobe to council, and having made us sit down, they placed six packets of beaver skins before us, and addressing me they said that the two first packets were to inform M. de Frontenac that they would not eat his children and that he should not be angry at what they had done; the third was to serve as a plaster for my wound; the fourth was oil to rub on my own and the Recollect father's limbs, on account of the journeys we had taken; the fifth, that the sun was bright; the sixth, that we should depart the next day for the French settlements. I asked them when they would go away themselves. Murmurs arose among them. Some of them answered me that they would eat some of the Illinois before they went away, upon which I kicked away their presents, saying that there was no use in making presents to me; I would have none

of them, since they designed to eat the children of the Governor. An Abenakis who was with them, and who spoke French, told me that the men were irritated, and the chiefs rising drove me from the council.

"We went to our cabin, where we passed the night on our guard, resolved to kill some of them before they should kill us, for we thought that we should not live out the night. However, at daybreak they directed us to depart, which we did. After making five leagues in the canoe, we landed to dry some peltries which were wet. While we were repairing our canoe, Father Gabriel told me he was going aside to pray. I advised him not to get away, because we were surrounded by enemies. He went about 1,000 paces off and was taken by forty savages of the nation called Kikapous, who carried him away and broke his head. Finding that he did not return, I went to look for him with one of my men. Having discovered his trail, I found it cut by several others, which joined and ended at last in one.

"I brought back this sad news to the Father Zenobe, who was greatly grieved at it. Towards evening we made a great fire, hoping that perhaps he might return; and we went over to the other side of the river, where we kept a good lookout. Towards midnight we saw a man appear, and then many others."⁵

Tonti and Father Membre continued the search for Father Ribourde into the next day, but were obliged to proceed without having found any trace of him. Long years afterwards it may be said portions of Father Ribourde's breviary, his beads and crucifix were found in the possession of Indians of the Kickapoo tribe, and the sad story of his fate was learned. Some Kickapoo Indians came upon him while he was wandering through the forest, killed him, secreted his body and carried off such of his personal belongings as attracted them. Thus was the good Recollect the first to give his life in God's service on the soil of Illinois.

Tonti and Father Membre made their way to Michilimackinac, which they reached on June 5, 1681, after a journey equaled in hardships only by that of his indomitable superior, La Salle. Here as will be seen they met La Salle and De la Forest. Tonti, in his succinct manner, says: "He (La Salle) was very glad to see us again and notwithstanding all reverses, we made new preparations to continue the exploration which he had undertaken."

These preparations were made for the second of La Salle's journeys through Illinois, in which he proceeded to Louisiana.

While Tonti is almost laconic with reference to most matters of which he has written, he was quite explicit in his description of this voyage, and has left us one of the best of the early estimates of the Mississippi Valley country. Speaking of the Mississippi, he says:

⁵ Cox, *Journeys of La Salle*, pp. 291-294.

“This river is 800 leagues long, without rapids, to-wit, 400 from the country of the Sioux, and 400 from the mouth of the Islinois River to the sea. The banks are almost uninhabitable, on account of the spring floods. The woods are chiefly poplar, the country one of canes and briars and of trees torn up by the roots; but a league or two from the river is the most beautiful country in the world—prairies, open woods of mulberry trees, vines, and fruits that we are not acquainted with. The savages gather the Indian corn twice in the year. In the lower course of the river, the part which might be settled, is where the river makes a course north and south, for there, in many places, every now and then it has bluffs on the right and left.

“The river is only navigable for ships as far as the village of Nadesche, for above that place the river winds too much; but this would not prevent one’s setting out from the country above with pirogues and flatboats, to proceed from the Ouabache to the sea. There are but few beavers, but to make amends there is a large number of buffaloes or bears, large wolves, stags, sibolas, hinds, and roe deer in abundance; and some lead mines, with less than one-third refuse. As these savages are stationary, and have some habits of subordination, they might be obliged to make silk in order to procure necessaries for themselves, if eggs of silkworm were brought to them from France, for the forests are full of mulberry trees. This would be a valuable trade.

“As for the country of the Illinois, the river runs 100 leagues from Fort St. Louis, to where it falls into the Mississippi. It may be said to contain the finest lands ever seen. The climate is the same as that of Paris, though in the 40th degree of latitude. The savages there are quick, agile and brave, but extremely lazy, except in war, when they think nothing of seeking their enemies at a distance of 500 or 600 leagues from their own country. This they constantly show in the country of the Iroquios, whom, at my instigation, they continually harass. Not a year passes in which they do not take a number of prisoners and scalps.

“A few pieces of pure copper, whose origin we have not yet sought, are found in the river of the Islinois. Polygamy prevails in this nation, and is one of the great hindrances to the introduction of Christianity, with the fact of their having no form of worship of their own. The nations lower down would be more easily converted, because they adore the sun, which is their sole divinity. This is all that I am able to relate of those parts.”^a

“During the winter,” says Tonti, “I gave all the nations notice of what we had done to defend them from the Iroquois, at whose hands they had lost 700 people in the preceding years. They approved of our good intentions, and established themselves to the number of 300 lodges at the fort, the Islinois, the Miamias and Chacuanons.”

^a Cox, *Journeys of La Salle*, pp. 302-303.

Scarcely were the federated Indians settled under their new governor when the Iroquois renewed their war. Information was brought to Tonti on the 20th of March, 1684, that the Iroquois were about to attack, and preparations for defence were begun. Word was sent to Michilimackinac, where Olivier Morel, Sieur de La Duryante, was in command, and he was asked for assistance. The Iroquois appeared on the 21st of March and were repulsed with losses. After six days' siege they retired with some slaves which they had made in the neighborhood, who afterwards escaped and came back to the fort.

The siege was scarcely over than La Duryante and Father Claude Jean Allouez, a Jesuit, arrived at the fort with about sixty Frenchmen to assist in its defence. They also brought unpleasant news. de La Salle's enemies had triumphed and his possessions were wrested from him and turned over to others. Tonti was ordered to give up the fort, and, like a true soldier, obeyed the command of his superiors, "went to Montreal and thence to Quebec, where he met de La Forest with a reversal of the orders. By *Lettre de Cachet*, carried by La Forest, La Barre was directed to deliver up to La Forest the lands belonging to Sieur de La Salle. La Forest advised Tonti that La Salle, who had been to France to protest against the taking away of his powers and possessions, was sailing by way of the Islands to find the mouth of the Mississippi, and that he had obtained a command for him (Tonti) and that he was to go back to Fort St. Louis as captain of fort and governor."

Accordingly Tonti returned to Illinois and La Forest went back to Fort Frontenac. Tonti arrived again in Illinois in June 1685, and De Baugis, who had supplanted him in his turn retired and left Tonti in command.

While Tonti was absent, bad feeling broke out between the Miamis and the Illinois, and it cost Tonti much trouble and money besides to reconcile the two nations.

Not hearing from La Salle, Tonti went to Michilimackinac in the autumn and there learned that the Marquis Jacques Rene de Brisay de Nonville had succeeded Le Barry as governor of Canada, by whom he was summoned for conference in relation to the war against the Iroquois.

From de Nonville Tonti learned that de La Salle was seeking the mouth of the Mississippi in the Gulf of Mexico, and so great was his solicitude about his beloved leader that he resolved at once to go to his assistance. This most difficult journey is thus described by Tonti:

"I embarked, therefore, for the Illinois, on St. Andrew's Day, but being stopped by the ice, I was obliged to leave my canoe and to

proceed by land. After going 120 leagues I arrived at the Fort of Chicacou, where M. de La Durantaye commanded; and from thence I came to Fort St. Louis, where I arrived in the middle of January 1685. I departed thence on the 16th of February, with thirty Frenchmen and five Isilinois and Chacuanons for the sea, which I reached in Holy Week, after having passed the tribes described above, by whom I was very well received. I sent out one canoe towards the coast of Mexico, and another towards Carolina, to see if they could discover anything. They each sailed about thirty leagues in either direction, but were obliged to stop for want of fresh water. They reported to me that where they had been the land began to rise. They brought me a porpoise and some oysters. As it would take us five months to reach the French settlements, I proposed to my men, that if they would trust me, we should follow the coast as far as Menade, and that by this means we should arrived shortly at Montreal, declaring that we should not lose our time, because we might discover some fine country and might even take some prize on our way. Part of my men were willing to adopt my plan, but the rest were opposed to it, so I decided to return the way I came.”⁷

Regretting exceedingly his failure to find La Salle, he set himself to useful work on the return journey. He found that the arms of the King which de La Salle had erected had been thrown down by the floods and he took them five leagues further up and placed them in higher ground. On Easter Monday he continued his homeward journey and made allies of the Indian tribes he encountered on the way. He also was the means of establishing the first settlement in the Mississippi Valley. “When we were at Arkansas,” says Tonti, “ten of the Frenchmen who accompanied me asked for settlements on the River Arkansas on a seigniory that M. de La Salle had given me on our first voyage. I granted the request to some of them. They remained there and built a house surrounded with stakes.” Tonti and the remainder of his party arrived at Fort St. Louis on January 24, 1686. Man of action that he was, he immediately embarked with two Indian chiefs to confer with Governor de Nonville concerning the war with the Iroquois. Receiving directions he returned to the Isilinois, reaching there in December, and sent word to his savage allies declaring war against the Iroquois and inviting them to assemble at the fort. This they did in April 1687.

“I gave our savages a dog feast, and, after having declared to them the will of the King and of the Governor of New France, I set out on April 17th, with sixteen Frenchmen and a guide of the Miami nation.”

Only twenty Frenchmen remained at the fort and Bellefontaine was left in command during Tonti's absence. The war party grew

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 307.

as it proceeded, so that some five hundred warriors completed the journey of 200 leagues to Fort Detroit, which was reached on the 19th of May.

The stirring days succeeding Tonti's arrival at the war front are graphically told in his memoir. The enemy consisted of the English and their savage Iroquois allies. The fighting favored the French, but Tonti ascribes his success largely to:

"Two strokes of good luck (quick action and the prevention of the use of brandy). As . . . from the great quantity of brandy and merchandise which they (the English) had with them (they) would have gained over our allies and thus we should have had all of the savages and the English upon us at once."

With his remarkable faculty for covering distance, Tonti reached as far as the Niagara where he built a fort.

The Iroquois being checked for the present, Tonti started on his return journey, coming home by way of Detroit and Michilimackinac. At Detroit he was joined by Father Jacques Gravier, the Jesuit who afterwards became the head of the Missions in Illinois.

Arriving home, Tonti found there Abbe Jean Cavalier, the brother of de La Salle, and others of de La Salle's party who had arrived in his absence. They falsely told Tonti that they left de La Salle "at the Gulf of Mexico in good health."

This return party was obliged to remain at Fort St. Louis, and, from an extended account of the journey written by Henry Joutel, who was of the party, we are able to learn something of conditions in Illinois at that time and of Tonti's government at the Fort. "On Sunday the 14th, of September," (1689) says Joutel, "about two in the afternoon, we came into the neighborhood of Fort Louis. Drawing near, we were met by some Indians that were on the bank, who, having viewed us well, and understanding we came from M. de la Salle, and that we belonged to him, ran to the fort to carry the news, and immediately we saw a Frenchman come out, with a company of Indians, who fired a volley of several pieces to salute us. Then the Frenchman drew near and desired us to come ashore, which we did, leaving only one in the canoe to take care of our baggage, for the Illinois are very sharp at carrying off anything they can lay their hands on, and consequently nothing near so honest as the nations we had passed through."

For various reasons the party was obliged to remain at the Fort for the rest of the autumn and part of the winter, "to our great sorrow," says Joutel, "and not so much for our own disappointment as for being by that means obstructed from sending succor as soon as we had expected as well to the said fort as to those French of our own country whom we had left on the Coast of the Bay of Mexico."

Joutel says that the leisure he had during the stay gave him an opportunity for observation, and, profiting from it, he writes down what he learned of the French at Fort St. Louis.

"Fort St. Louis," says he, "is in the country of the Illinois, and seated on a steep rock, about two hundred feet high, the river running at the bottom of it. It is only fortified with stakes and palisades and some houses advancing to the edge of the rock. It has a very spacious esplanade, or place of arms. The place is naturally strong, and might be made so by art, with little expense. Several of the natives live in it, in their huts. I cannot give an account of the latitude it stands in, for want of proper instruments to take an observation, but nothing can be pleasanter; and it may be truly affirmed that the country of the Illinois enjoys all that can make it accomplished, not only as to ornament, but also for its plentiful production of all things requisite for the support of human life.

"The plain, which is watered by the river, is beautified by two small hills, about half a league distant from the fort, and those hills are covered with groves of oaks, walnut trees and other sorts I have named elsewhere. The fields are full of grass, growing up very high. On the sides of the hills is found a gravelly sort of stone very fit to make lime for building. There are also many clay pits, fit for making of earthenware, bricks and tiles; and along the river there are coal pits, the coal whereof has been tried and found very good.

"There is no reason to question but that there are in this country mines of all sorts of metals, and of the richest, the climate being the same as that of New Mexico. We saw several spots where it appeared there were iron mines, and found some pieces of it on the bank of the river, which nature had cleansed. Travelers who have been at the upper part of the Mississippi affirm they have found mines there of very good lead.

"That country is one of the most temperate in the world, and consequently whatsoever is sown there, whether herbs, roots, Indian and even European corn, thrives very well, as has been tried by the *Sieur Boisrondet*, who sowed all sorts and had a plentiful crop, and

we eat of the bread, which was very good. And whereas we were assured that there were vines which run up, whose grapes are very good and delicious, growing along the river, it is reasonable to believe that if those vines were transplanted and pruned there might be very good wine made of them. There is also plenty of wild-apple and pear trees, and of several other sorts, which would afford excellent fruit were they grafted and transplanted.

“All other sorts of fruit, as plums, peaches and others, wherewith the country abounds, would become exquisite if the same industry were used; and other sorts of fruit we have in France would thrive well if they were carried over. The earth produces a sort of hemp, whereof cloth might be made and cordage. . . .

“We continued some time in Fort Louis without receiving any news. Our business was, after having heard Mass, which we had the good fortune to do every day, to divert ourselves the best way we could. The Indian woman daily brought in something fresh; we wanted not for watermelons, bread made of Indian corn, baked in the embers, and other such things, and we rewarded them by little presents in return.

“On the 27th of October of the same year M. Tonti returned from the war with the Iroquois. Our embraces and the relation of our adventures were repeated, but still concealing from him the death of M. de la Salle. He told us all the particulars of that war, and said the Iroquois, having got intelligence of the march of the French forces and their allies, had come out of their villages and laid themselves in ambush by the way; but that having made a sudden and general discharge upon our men, with their usual cries, yet without much harm done, they had been repulsed with loss, took to flight, and by the way burnt all their own villages. That M. d’Hennonville, chief governor of New France, had caused the army to march, to burn the rest of their villages, set fire to their country and corn, but would not proceed any farther. That afterwards he had made himself master of the several canoes belonging to the English, most of them laden with brandy, which had been plundered; that the English had been sent prisoners to Montreal, they being come to make some attempt upon the Illinois.

“We continued after this manner till the month of December, when two men arrived from Montreal. They came to give notice to M. Tonti that three canoes, laden with merchandise, powder, ball and other things, were arrived at Chicagob; that there being too little water in the river, and what there was being frozen, they could come no lower; so that it being requisite to send men to fetch those things,

M. Tonti desired the chief of the Chahouanous to furnish him with people. That chief accordingly provided forty, men as well as women, who set out with some Frenchmen. The honesty of the Chahouanous was the reason for preferring them before the Illinois, who are naturally knaves.

“That ammunition and merchandise were soon brought, and very seasonably, the fort being then in want. We stayed there till the end of February, 1688, at which time we fixed our resolution to depart, though we had no news from Canada, as we expected. We found there some canoes ready to undertake that voyage, and we laid hold of that opportunity to convey each other to the Micilimaquinay, where we hoped to meet some news from Canada.

“M. Cavalier, the priest, had taken care, before the death of M. de la Salle, his brother, to get of him a letter of credit, to receive either a sum of money or furs in the country of the Illinois. He tendered that letter to M. Tonti, who, believing M. de la Salle was still alive, made no difficulty of giving him to the value of about four thousand livres in furs, castors and other skins, a canoe and other effects, for which the said M. Cavalier gave him his note, and we prepared for our journey.

“I have before observed that there was a Jesuit, whose name was Dalouez, at Fort Louis, and who had been very much surprised to hear that M. de La Salle was to come in a short time, being under great apprehensions on account of a conspiracy intended to have been carried on against M. de La Salle’s interest. That father, perceiving our departure was fixed, moved first, and went away foremost, to return to Micilmaquinay; so that they were left without a priest at Fort Louis, which was a great trouble to us, because we were the occasion of it, and therefore those who were to remain in the fort anticipated the time and made their Easter, taking the advantage of the presence of F. Anastasius and M. Cavalier.

“At length we set out on the 21st of March from Fort Louis. The Sieur Boisrondet, who was desirous to return to France, joined us; we embarked on the river, which was then become navigable, and before we had advanced five leagues met with a rapid stream, which obliged us to go ashore, and then again into the water, to draw along our canoe. I had the misfortune to hurt one of my feet against a rock that lay under water, which troubled me very much for a long time, and be being under a necessity of going often into the water, I suffered extremely, and more than I had done since our departure from the Gulf of Mexico.

"We arrived at Chicagon on the 29th of March, and our first care was to seek what we had concealed at our former voyage, having, as was there said, buried our luggage and provisions. We found it had been opened and some furs and linen taken away, almost all of which belonged to me. This had been done by a Frenchman whom M. Tonti had sent from the fort during the winter season to know whether there were any canoes at Chicagon, and whom he had directed to see whether anybody had meddled with what we had concealed, and he made use of that advice to rob us.

"The bad weather obliged us to stay in that place till April. That time of rest was advantageous for the healing of my foot; and there being but very little game in that place, we had nothing but our meal or Indian wheat to feed on; yet we discovered a kind of manna, which was a great help to us. It was a sort of tree, resembling our maple, in which we made incisions, whence flowed a sweet liquor, and in it we boiled our Indian wheat, which made it delicious, sweet and of a very agreeable relish.

"There being no sugar canes in that country, those trees supplied that liquor, which being boiled up and evaporated, turned into a kind of sugar somewhat brownish, but very good. In the woods we found a sort of garlic, not so strong as ours, and small onions very like ours in taste, and some charvel of the same relish as that which we have, but different in the leaf.

"The weather being somewhat mended, we embarked again, and entered upon the lake on the 5th of April, keeping to the north side to shun the Iroquois."⁸

"After their departure and in September of the same year, a Frenchman named Couture brought two Arkansas Indians to Tonti who informed him of the death of La Salle, relating all the circumstances.

"Having been advised by Governor De Nonville not to interfere with the Iroquois, Tonti resolved to proceed to the site of La Salle's settlement on the Gulf of Mexico and bring back the survivors of the La Salle party. After a most trying journey, Tonti, with his greatly diminished party, arrived within three days' journey of the ill-fated camp set up by La Salle and in proximity to the village of the Naouadiche who massacred La Salle's party. With his usual boldness he invaded the village and demanded information. The Indians told him different falsehoods, but when Tonti charged them

⁸ Cox, *Journeys of La Salle*, pp. 216, 219, 222, 227.

with having killed the Frenchmen, the women began crying and it became evident that the charge was true. From investigation which Tonti was able to make, he gives the following facts relating to the sad fate of de La Salle and his party:"

"M. de La Salle having landed beyond the Mississippi, on the side toward Mexico, about eighty leagues from the mouth of the river, and having lost his vessels on the coast, saved a part of the cargo, and began to march along the seashore in search of the Mississippi. Meeting with many obstacles to his plans on account of the bad roads, he resolved to go to the Illinois by land. So he loaded several horses to carry what was necessary. The Recollect Father Anastatius, M. Cavelier, the priest, his brother; M. Cavelier, his nephew; M. de Morange, his relative; MM. du Haut and Lanquetot, and several Frenchmen accompanied him, with a Chaouanon savage.

"When three days' journey from the Naouadiche, finding himself short of provisions, he sent M. de Morange, his servant, and the Chaouanon, to hunt in a small wood with orders to return in the evening. When they had killed some buffaloes, they stopped to dry the meat. M. de La Salle was uneasy, so he asked the Frenchmen who among them would go and look for them. De Haut and Lanquetot had for a long time determined to kill M. de La Salle, because, during the journey he had made along the sea coast, he had compelled the brother of Lanquetot, who was unable to keep up, to return to camp, and as he was returning alone he was massacred by the savages. This caused Lanquetot to swear that he would never forgive his brother's death. And as in long journeys there are always many discontented persons in a company, he easily found partisans. He offered, therefore, with them, to search for M. de Morange, in order to have an opportunity to execute their design.

"Having found the men, he told them that M. de La Salle was uneasy about them; but, they declaring that they could not set off till the next day, it was agreed to sleep there. After supper they arranged the order of the watch, that it should begin with M. de Morange; after him was to follow the servant of M. de La Salle, and then the Chaouanon. After they had kept their watch and were asleep, the others massacred them, as persons attached to M. de La Salle. Toward daybreak they heard the report of pistols, which were fired as signals by M. de La Salle, who was coming with the Recollect Father in search of them. The wretches, suspecting that it was he, lay in wait for him, placing M. du Haut's servant in front. When M. de La Salle came near, he asked where M. de Morange was. The servant, keeping on his hat, answered that he was behind. As M. de La Salle advanced to remind him of his duty, he received three balls in his head, and fell down dead (March 19, 1687). I do not know whether the Recollect Father could do anything, but it is agreed that he was frightened, and, thinking that he also was to be killed, threw himself on his knees before the murderers and begged

for a quarter of an hour to prepare his soul. They replied that they were willing to spare his life.

“They went on together to where M. Cavalier was, and, as they advanced, shouted, ‘Down with your arms.’ M. Cavalier, on hearing the noise came forward, and, when told of the death of his brother, threw himself on his knees before the murderers, making the same request that had been made by the Recollect Father. They granted him his life. He asked to go and bury the body of his brother, but they refused.

“Such was the end of one of the greatest men of this age, a man of an admirable spirit, and capable of undertaking all sorts of explorations. This murder much grieved the three Naoudiche whom M. de La Salle had found hunting, and who had accompanied him to the village. After the murderers had committed this crime, they seized all the baggage of the deceased, and the rest of the Frenchmen continued their journey to the village of the Naouadiche, where they found two Frenchmen domesticated among the savages, who had deserted in M. de La Salle’s time.”⁹

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

Chicago, Illinois.

⁹ Cox, *Journeys of La Salle*, pp. 317-319.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition—1673. By Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., Ph. D. Pp. XIV-334. Quincy, Illinois. Franciscan Fathers.

If Jolliet had not been so eager to reach Montreal on July 21, 1674, it is quite likely that he would not have risked his life in the rapids at the Falls of Saint Louis or Lachine. In shooting the more dangerous part of the rapids with fair success the overjoyed rowers steered carelessly into a swift current. The frail canoe was caught sideways by the torrent, dashed down the rapids defying control and finally capsized. Men struggled with full strength to clear the engulfing stream, but overcome by fatigue, all were drowned with the single exception of Joliet. He was found by fishermen on a projecting rock where he had been cast, unconscious from exhaustion. The strong box and the Indian boy had been swallowed by the fierce whirling waters. So, too were the answers to three questions: Did the Expedition of Jolliet-Marquette discover the Mississippi River in 1673? Did Marquette or Jolliet act as head of the Expedition? Who wrote the narrative of the Expedition as we have it today?

Many historians have endeavored to answer these questions. There are diverse solutions and only one can be the correct account. Since Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., has brought forward his solution, we are inclined to believe future generations will not regret so bitterly the loss of Jolliet's strong box with its Recit and charts. Father Steck's answers are: that the Jolliet-Marquette Expedition of 1673 was an exploration of a river discovered by the Spanish more than a hundred and fifty years previous to that date; that Jolliet was the official agent of the State on the exploration, that Marquette was his chaplain and mediator with the Indians and that all depended from Jolliet as head of the expedition; that the report furnished by Marquette to his superiors was gathered from notes made from Jolliet's records and maps which had been lost with the strong box at the Falls of Saint Louis.

The answers to the questions are not original nor are they given for the first time in this work, still there is very commendable research labor in the thesis of Father Steck. He gives reasons for the conclusions, and these reasons are the interesting phases of the Jolliet-Marquette Expedition. The clear, direct consideration of

his subject matter is a quality appreciated by readers of Father Steck's article in this review. He has supported all proofs with scientific reference, and by careful elimination. The manner of judging is so exact that no doubt remains that the false opinion has been discarded definitely. A genuine historian, he has listed all his references according to the best method of tabulation. The Index seems to be exact and complete.

One might question the advisability of the private publication of a work of such great merit. Every library in the country should add this account of an interesting adventure to its catalogue. It is true that private distribution has made the price of the book lower, for the fac-similes of maps and documents must have been made at a very considerable expense. It is a noble work of an accomplished historian, inspired by the ideals of his masters—the truth of past events related with scholarly skill.

REV. AMBROSE SMITH, O. P., S. T. LR.
DOMINICAN HOUSE OF STUDIES, RIVER FOREST.

Shin-to. By Rev. George Schurhammer, S. J. 1923. Published by Kurt Schroeder, Bonn and Leipzig.

Father Schurhammer, S. J., has dedicated this beautiful volume to his quondam fellow teachers at the University of Tokyo, in memory of his regency of many years in the sunny isle. During those times of pioneer work, when the Catholic Church struggled to reach her present position of influence among the cultured Japanese, this missionary found time to collate and re-edit the valuable records of the early Jesuit work in the Far East. It is these relations that form the basis of the present work.

Dealing altogether with the history of religion before the coming of Christianity, the author takes up in order the mythological period of Shintoism, the Shinto-Gods of historic times and the gods of Ryobu Shinto. Following these studies are two chapters on the manners and customs of the worship, together with treatments of Shinto ethics and the deification of nature in the religion of the bonzes.

The book is scholarly in its abundant use of original materials, and it contains invaluable references to guide the explorer of these unknown sections of history. Moreover the make-up is such as to challenge our instant admiration. Printed in parallel columns of German and English—to facilitate and extend the use of this rare

composition,—the book offers a study in languages no less than in ancient lore. The large type, excellent printing on folio sheets of fine paper, add attractiveness. And when the reader pages through the articles and finds twelve surpassing colored representations of Japanese temples and religious services, and one hundred and two sepia tone illustrations of minor subjects, he concludes he has found a treasure for his library or study.

This work can now be had by writing directly to the Jesuit Fathers. The Fathers took over the whole edition from the publishers two years ago, and are in a position to offer it to American buyers at the astoundingly low price of \$2.36, postage prepaid. We recommend immediate application for one or more copies, before the limited number of copies is exhausted.

Mr. Edw. F. Madaras, S. J., a young American who is studying at St. Ignatius College, Valkenburg, Limburg, Holland, will be glad to handle any orders or correspondence relative to the book.

W. E. SHIELDS, S. J.

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